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History of Cyprus

The Island of Beauty and Pain
From Antiquity to the Present Day

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Cairo 2002

Originally published in Arabic (Cairo 1997)
د. أحمد عتمان: تاريخ قبرص جزيرة الجمال والألم منذ القدم وإلى اليوم (القاهرة ١٩٩٧).

I.S.B.N 977-17-0384-6
Deposit No. 17435 / 2001

To Panaioti Kondos





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PREFACE

Many of my friends, colleagues and readers who are familiar with my writings will be surprised when this book appears, for Greek and Latin literatures as well as comparative studies take all my time and do not allow anything else like the subject of this book to compete with these interests. Therefor, I have to confide to all readers the secret behind writing this book.

On December the 8th 1969, I went to Greece to get my Ph. D. Before departing from Egypt, however, my students at the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, came to bid me farewell with a lot of love and respect, and some innocent and charming tears. Among them, there was a Cypriot girl student – I do not recollect her name now – who was seeking knowledge in the Department of English in Cairo. When I settled down in Athens and was totally indulged in my studies and new relationships, I temporarily forgot all what happened at Cairo University before my departure, though it was imprinted in the unconscious.

The most fortunate thing for me to have in Greece was the company of a group of foreign colleagues and friends, I mean students who were not Greek. We were fellow students in learning Greek, then we became close friends and we all fell in love with Hellenism. We were living on culture, the exchange of ideas, and visiting places under the auspices of Homer, Plato, Dionysus, Aphrodite and Eros. On earth, we were looked after by the Greek language tutor, Panaioti Kondos. This rare group of friends comprised various nationalities: from China to Latin America, passing by Africa, and even reaching Australia.

However, I heard these friends repeatedly talking about Cyprus with great admiration and they even planned to visit the Island, and then actually proceeded with their plan. When they came back they started recounting what they had seen there and narrated their pleasant memories of the place. For instance, the French archaeologist, Michelle Daumas, who came from Grenoble, did not cease talking about the monuments of Cyprus. From this Island she had sent me a postcard with the picture of the rock of Aphrodite in Paphos, the rock

where people believe- according to the myths- the goddess of love, beauty and procreation had lived. According to the myth, Aphrodite was born out of the sea surf. I got the card, which I still keep, in 1971/1972. My longing to see Cyprus increased, but I could not realise this desire during my sojourn in Greece.

I came back to Egypt in August 1974, full of desire to visit Cyprus, but circumstances destined the month of July 1974 to witness the most tragic event in the history of Cyprus, i.e. the Turkish invasion. I was much distressed and realised that my dream of visiting Cyprus belonged to "postponed" matters in my life.

When I went to Kuwait in September 1978 to work in the High Institute for Theatrical Arts, my financial circumstances improved, so I revisited Greece, and my Cypriot dream was awakened. In August 1982, I moved from Athens to Larnaca in Cyprus and spent two weeks there. This visit of Cyprus was one of the turning points in my life. My Greek colleagues and friends had asked the Cypriots to take care of me. Mr. Stavrros Crousis, who is specialised in Byzantine studies and a great scholar, sent me to one of his relatives in Cyprus. In brief, I was involved in the cultural and literary life the moment my feet touched Cyprus. I had planned for myself a well-studied plan to visit the monuments and actually carried out most of it. During my visit to the mountain village, Lefcara, I bought a silver ring which I still put on till now.

I got acquainted with many men of letters, poets, actors and people from the writers' Union and the Pen club who gave me their works and greatly welcomed me. For the first time I tasted the well-known Cypriot cottage cheese (Haloum) which I liked and I have become one of its gourmets, though I had found it tasteless before. My plan included visiting the monuments of Kyrenia as it is the richest place in Cyprus as far as monuments are concerned. As it lies in the Turkish quarters, I had to get a permit to pass across the green line in Nicosia which separates between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. I actually got the permit, crossed the partition, and started to wander in occupied Nicosia. What happened next cannot be believed by my friends till now!

As soon as I reached one of the squares there and saw thousands of Turkish soldiers fill the place without any array, I became scared, though I visited Turkey in 1973 and met with great welcome by simple Turks, particularly when they knew I was a Muslim Egyptian. But in occupied Nicosia, as soon as I saw a square full of Turkish soldiers, I decided to cancel my plan of visiting the monuments. I gave up my dream. Instead, I asked about the best hotel or restaurant in the locality and had my lunch there. When I phoned my friends in Nicosia, they thought I was telephoning from the Turkish side and were surprised at my return. Until this very moment I was not fortunate enough to see the monuments in the part dominated by the Turks in Cyprus, and I do not know when I will have that lucky chance.

However, the most important thing that occurred to me during this first visit to Cyprus and which will never be removed from memory, was that I used to go here and there, enjoy visiting the monuments during the day and the arts of entertainment at night while the sound of guns was always ringing in my ears. That was because my visit was chanced to be at the same time of the oppressive Israeli aggression on the south of Lebanon and the siege of Beirut. I was living this tragedy with all my senses that it seemed to me that I could hear the sound of the aggressive Israeli guns. Though Cyprus is actually close to Beirut and the inhabitants of the eastern parts of the Island could perhaps hear such voices, no one in Nicosia, Limassol, or Larnaca could hear such sounds. It is one of the imaginary illusions that disturb my life in such situations. However, I found an excuse later on and thought that perhaps I heard the ringing of guns because when Muawiya asked the permission of Omar Ben Al Khattab to conquer Cyprus in the first naval campaign for the Arabs, he wrote to him to justify his desire, saying: "the inhabitants of the village of Homs can hear the barking of their dogs and the becking of their hens."

One of Aristophanes' comedies came to complement the tragic part of my first visit to Cyprus. I went to watch one of the shows of the Cypriot National troupe in an open theatre. They were staging *Lysistrata* by Aristophanes. In the play, the women led by Lysistrata plan to ostracize men in bed as a punishment for them, for it was the men who launched wars and failed in achieving peace. The subject

then is comic, full of fun, satire, and jokes. However, the Cypriot actors while they were yelling against war shouting to the whole world for the sake of peace, and raising placards to the same effect, I felt they were actually projecting the tragedy of Cyprus and Lebanon at the same time. Illusions came back to me and it seemed as if the screams were mixed with the sounds of Israeli guns knocking down Beirut, and corresponding with the screams of women and children under the rubble.

Since that time, I have felt I owe a debt to Cyprus and the Cypriots which I have to pay, for many writers who presented me with their books, whether long novels, short stories, poems, literary, historical, or cultural studies, were keen to be introduced to the Arab reader. I could not do that before reading the history of Cyprus throughout the ages. The Arab reader himself will not appreciate the Cypriot literature before knowing something about the cultural background.

When I set about laying the plan of this book, I wanted to realise all my dreams in that realm through it. I discovered that those dreams couldn't be fulfilled by one shot. I was dreaming of studying Cyprus in ancient Egyptian sources. I found that this idea by itself could be a proposal for a Ph. D. thesis for example. I was also dreaming of presenting a study of the image of Cyprus in Greek and Latin sources, but I discovered that this needs two enormous projects, one has already been accomplished by the respectable scholar Kuriakos Hatzioannis who has studied and made a list of allusions in ancient Greek sources about Cyprus written in more than three thousand pages. As for Cyprus in Latin sources, it is still an enormous project in expectation of a young energetic researcher.

As to Cyprus in the Byzantine and Middle Ages, there are numerous references in Greek and other modern European languages. It is also the period the classic and modern Arab writers paid great attention to because Cyprus went into contention between the Arabs and the Byzantine Empire. It was also the place that witnessed the first Arab naval campaign under the command of Muawiya, the place where Om Haram, wife of Ebada Ben Samet was buried. It is also believed that Abu Bakr's daughter has a tomb there as well.

The Crusaders turned Cyprus into a starting point to invade the Islamic states in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. Thus, Cyprus became an integral part of the history of these wars and these countries. Therefore, the Arab and Egyptian historians have been interested in its history. However, these studies cared only about what is connected with Arab and Islamic history in that context, which is natural. The time is ripe now for the study of the Island of Cyprus itself as far as its original aspects of civilization are concerned as a boundary region between East and West. Moreover, the image of Cyprus in the ancient Arab sources is not yet complete for the modern and contemporary reader. The fragments need to be collected and organised in a detailed study.

As far as the modern and contemporary history of Cyprus is concerned, the Arab library is still very poor. Indeed, the Egyptians, the people of Syria, and all the Arabs are interested in the affairs of Cyprus and carefully follow them. We can even say that the events in our region are closely connected with what is happening in Cyprus, and the problem of Cyprus itself greatly depends on the development of the problems of Palestine and Lebanon, or what we call the problem of the Middle East. In spite of that, there is not one serious study on the modern and contemporary history. It is a matter that applies to Greece as well, for you find in the Arabic library tens of books on its ancient and even Hellenistic history, but we totally ignore the Byzantine, Middle, or Modern and contemporary ages in Greece.

The book within our hands attempts to fill these gaps temporarily, because its nature does not allow comprehensive details. We hope it will be followed by other more detailed studies and more specialised in certain points.

I do not exactly remember the date of my following visits to Cyprus, though I know that my 1989 visit was quite fruitful as I came to be acquainted with important Cypriot figures, among whom I remember Valentino, that reputed ceramist who had lived in Iraq and Kuwait for a long time, and adored Egyptian people and art. It was Valentino who received me in my 1991 visit and put a schedule for me. He climbed with me the mount of Troodos, the highest mountain in Cyprus that its top is called the Olympus as a good omen of that name

in Greek mythology, where the throne of heaven, the home of gods and their lord Zeus was set, according to mythology.

On the top of one of these apexes, Makarios, the greatest nationalist figure in the modern Cypriot history was buried. In our way to Limassol and while still on another top of the mountain, Valentino sorrowfully beckoned towards one of the most exquisite tourist villages and said: "Here lived the celebrated Egyptian painter, Muhammad Nagi, but unfortunately we cannot go into his house!" This sentence went deep inside me and evoked a number of questions that remained with me all the time I was there. Valentino was not ungenerous with information, booklets, and names of personalities connected with Muhammad Nagi (1888-1956). The first surprise was that Muhammad Nagi (who has a museum in his name near the Pyramids now) had been living in Cyprus for a long time at different intervals. This matter can be confirmed and felt in his Cypriot paintings, particularly the painting called "Cypriot Union". The second surprise, which was discovered later and was unknown in Egypt, is that he was married to a Cypriot lady called Lilica Tavernary, who survived him and died in 1976.

It was her second marriage. She was a poetess as she published a collection of poems in 1956, the year Nagi passed away. She had children from her first marriage who became well known in the world of culture and art in Greece. Her son Khristo is a creative musician, born in Heliopolis in Cairo in 1928. He grew up and was raised between Alexandria and Cambridge. As to his music, it is inspired by Egypt, by *The Book of the Dead* in particular. He is then one of the lovers of ancient Egyptian civilization. It seems that he loved Nagi, his stepfather, whom he knew when he was eleven years old and much admired him, particularly because Nagi could play the violin skilfully. As soon as I came back from Cyprus in February 1991, I wrote an article in the Radio and Television magazine and explained that there are still some relics and sketches as well as a house in Cyprus for Muhammad Nagi. The surprise was that no one knew about this, but the people responsible were interested in the matter and some official papers went to and fro between the Cypriot ministry of culture and education and the Egyptian ministry of culture. All we can say is that papers move very slowly, for nothing happened until now towards

these findings.

In my last visit to Cyprus in January 1995, I was able to go into Muhammad Nagi's house in the fabulous tourist village, Pellatris, on the top of mount Troodos. The Cypriots accompanying me asked me to personally open the door of that abandoned house, which is an initiative that has a clear and open significance for any one who understands history and respects traditions.

My Cypriot friend, Valentino, told me in Cairo and Cyprus about his story with the house of the Cypriot writer, Nicolaides, who was living in Cairo and died in 1956, the same year in which Nagi died. It is said that the Cypriot Nicolaides carried arms to fight in defence of Egypt during the tripartite aggression. President Nasser sent him a letter of thanks for that. However, Valentinto kept looking for Nicolaides's house until he found it in Bulaq in a street off 26 July Street near Abu Al-Ela Bridge. I went with him once and we saw the house together. It overlooks a small square and is inhabited by people. There are also some shops attached to it. There is a Cypriot plan to buy the house and turn it into a museum. In this house in Bulaq, Nicolaides met famous Egyptian and Greek writers as Tsercas and Seferis. Valentino continued his search until he met some Egyptians who had close ties with Nicolaides as Uncle Aziz and Gayyed Gerges. It is even said that this Cypriot writer adopted an Egyptian boy from Nuba who became known as Fathi Nicola!

However, these matters are still under investigation and search. That happens at a time when the Cypriots are urging us to save Muhammad Nagi's house in Cyprus. Isn't it a tragicomic situation, or a dark comedy?

We went to visit Muhammad Nagi's house in Pellatris on top of mount Troodos in Cyprus accompanied by the lady who recently bought the house, as it is both a summer and a winter resort. When we went there snow was covering the place. You have to imagine yourself in a part of heaven over a mountain of ice where the head of trees are covered with snow-white crowns and the place around you ranges between bright green and the translucent blue of the sky, in addition to the colours of the rainbow scattered here and there. The ear is pleased

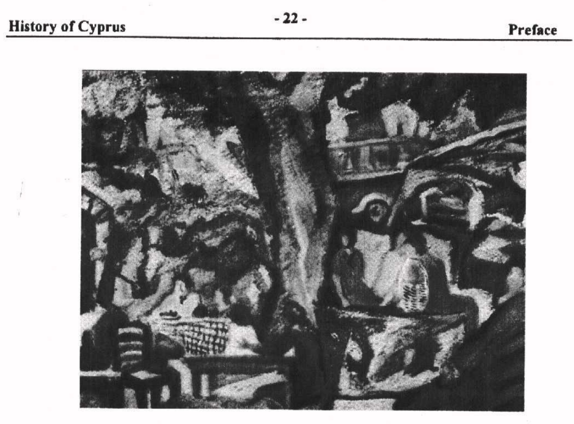


Fig. No. (3)



Fig. No. (4)

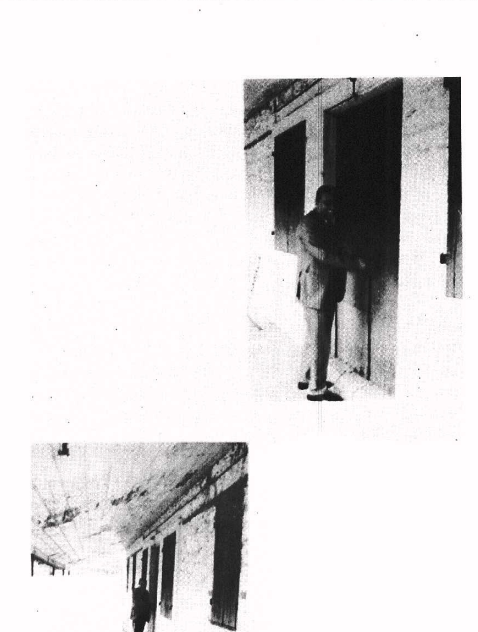


Fig. No. (5)

with the twittering of birds and the singing of nightingales. It is true for we are in a place called 'Nightingale Valley', which is a true appellation.

In the balcony of his house, Nagi used to sit in summer or winter to play music, in response to the singing of nightingale and the call of inspiration. He also used to make his famous sketches there. Close to Nagi's house, Makarios, the greatest nationalist leader, sat among the trees on one of the days in 1955 to have a "portrait" painted for him by Nagi. It was the first and last time Makarios sat for a painter. This historical portrait was given by Nasser to Makarios as a gift on his birthday in 1963, through the good will of the Egyptian ambassador when the Minister of Culture was Tharwat Okasha.

Indeed, it is a beautiful and historical place. It was said that King Faruq adored spending the nights in the 'Nightingale Valley', after the place had been discovered by some British who were working in Egypt at the time. they used to go frequently to Cyprus to spend their holidays. It was also said that an English architect was the one who designed Nagi's house, which was built in 1900.

Muhammad Nagi's house in Cyprus is fit now to be turned into a museum, or an art school, i.e. a studio. It is fit for other good ideas proposed by the creative Egyptians if they are interested in the matter.

Ahmed Etman
January 1997
Cairo

CHAPTER I

CYPRUS AS A CIVILISED LINK SINCE ANCIENT TIMES

Tum vero Paphius plenissima concipit heros
verba, quibus Veneri grates agat, oraque tandem
ore suo non falsa premit, dataque oscula virgo
sensit et erubuit, timidumque ad lumina lumen.
attollens pariter cum caelo vidit amantem.

"The hero of Paphos (Pygmalion) started to seek the sweetest words to thank Venus (Aphrodite), who has answered his prayers, after he had discovered his lips kissing some warm lips. The virgin is conscious of him and blushing bashfully. Here she is raising her eyes in coyness and in the meantime regarding the light in heaven. The fire of love is perceived in eyes adoring coyness."

(*Ovidius, Metamorphoses*, X 290 - 294)

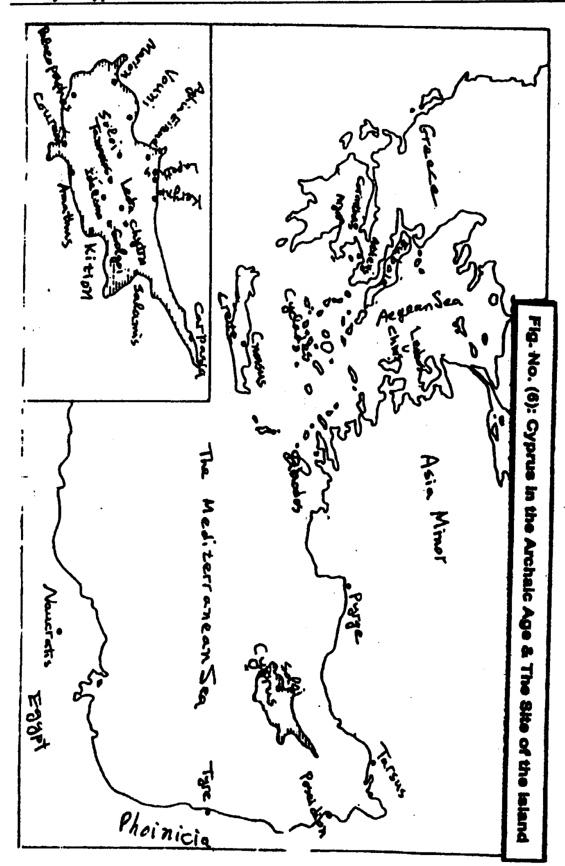


Fig. No. (6): Cyprus in the Archaic Age & The Site of the Island

1- The Oldest Civilisation

Cyprus lies at the marine crossroads between the Near and Middle East, Asia Minor and Africa from one side, and Europe from the other side. This position has given the Island a special importance in the process of controlling these ways and consequently controlling the commercial transactions, war battles, and political balance in the region. This is the reason of the suffering of Cyprus since its existence until today.

Dr. Abd Al-Men'em Majid says about Cyprus that it is like a manual cannon whose muzzle is directed towards Syria[1]; and we prefer to liken Cyprus to the hand of civilization stretched from the West to the East with the aim of taking and giving. The distance between the north of the Island and the city of Latakia in Syria is about 52 miles, and between its northern coast and Asia Minor is about 35 miles. The length of the Island between its eastern and western sides is 225 km (= Cairo – Alexandria) and its breadth is 96 km, while the whole area is 9251 km^2.

The Neolithic age in Cyprus goes back to 7000 years BC and continues to 3000 BC. It is represented by the survival of some dwelling places from the first stone aceramic period and the second stone ceramic period. The most important dwelling places that belong to the first stone age are found in Chirokitia; the headland called after St Andreas Kastros; the headland Greko, and Troulli to the east of Kyrenia; Petra tou Limniti; Kalavassos (Tenta); and Kataliondas ...etc.

These positions are considered a few of the remarkable features of the Cypriot coast or distinguished central points on the riverside,

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(1) [Arabic] Abd Al-Menem Majid, Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages. Beirut: Arab League Library, 1966, p. 85. See also the geographical introduction written by Andreas Sophocles to the following book:
Costas P. Kyrris, History of Cyprus. Nicosia: Nicocles Publishing House, 1985, pp. 5-26.

amidst valleys and over hills. Each of these places enjoys vast cultivable areas, provided with water supplies and natural resources. Each lies in a position that can be defended.

These dwelling places are dated to between 5800 to 5250 BC, though some scholars date them to 7000, or 6800 BC, or at least to 6000 BC. In these places, many antique items were found as stone utensils, different tools, arrows' heads, scythes' sharp edges, mortar pestles, mills or millstones, bone needles and awls; as well as spinning spheres, ear-rings, necklaces, sea shells and other items used as ornaments.

The economy of these dwelling places depended mainly on agriculture, though the inhabitants at that time used also to fish, hunt and produce what they needed in a primitive, manual manner. Their houses were circular or oval, built with the river's silt or with stone and bricks. However, building constructions disappeared in these dwelling places in the year 6000 or 5250 BC, and a time gap came about until the beginning of the Neolithic Ceramic age circa 4000-3800 BC or 5000-4800 BC.

The important position of this period is Philia (Drakos) in the valley of Ovgos in the northwest of Cyprus. Some other positions are Sotira (Teppes), Dhali (Agridhi) Kalavassos, Agios Epiktitos (Vryssi), Chirokitia (number 3), and Troulli. The people of this period are supposed to be those who had newly come to Cyprus and had the same interests of the native inhabitants. Their houses were circular, oval, or like a horseshoe. Houses were built of stones and covered with mud. Agriculture and pasture were the main features of life, in addition to some simple manual industries. The dead were buried at that time at the feet of hills and their burial grounds were covered with stones. In the year 3900 BC, or 3800 BC, or 3000, an earthquake struck the place. Recent excavations have been undertaken near Larnaca in a place called the valley of Tremithos, close to the village of Agia Anna, and some material like that found in Chirokitia was discovered. The items found go back to about 6000 BC. Geological indications referring to

the tenth thousand BC were also found[2].

Chirokitia's dwelling places number 3 go back to 5800 BC. They are circular (*tholos*) and are built over hilly places which makes them close to the idea of the Acropolis. The houses were usually built round a stream of water or a spring. The walls were built of the river's dry clay, which was like stones laid above each other fixed together by mud-mortar. Some houses had two circles (*tholoi*) surrounding another circle of unburned mud bricks, then they were covered by mud. This architectural structure is the most prevalent in the east of the Mediterranean in general. A complex construction made of three *tholoi* was also discovered. It seems that it belonged to one of the nobility. Lately, excavations have found the main road and border of the habitation area, or what we call today "the city's cordon", which was later expanded to the west, so the city had "a new cordon" bounded by the construction of a huge fence. Its width is 502 metres and its height is three metres. There, some tombs were discovered where the remains of the corpses of women and children were found. Some of the walls are coloured. Some tools as needles and awls made of bones are found. All these had to do with the burial rituals known in Cyprus and east Mediterranean. It is noticed that the architectural design of houses is tripled as it comprises a kitchen, a working or living room on the sides of the middle room which is the largest and which forms the axis of the unit. This triple architectural design of houses was kept in use even in constructing temples during the following ages, as in the case of the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos[3].

Through special attention and fine funeral gifts given to women, we have evidence that we are witnessing a matriarchal agricultural community, with an obvious tendency to deify the *Magna Mater*. Human sacrifices offered in some cases to safeguard and bless the construction remind us of what was prevalent in the Thessalian Stone

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(2) [Greek] Hatzedemetriou, pp. 7-50.

(3) [Greek] ARDAC (1981) pp. 22 ff.
[Greek] IEE vol. A. pp. 74-79.

Age and in some parts of the Balkan, and the territory known now as Czechoslovakia. Some folkloric songs in these areas still bear traces of the ancient rituals and it is so clear in "Arta Bridge Song" in modern Greek.

One of the things that draws our attention is that the plaited or combed pottery found in Chirokitia is similar to Egyptian pottery known as "Badari pottery" as well as Pylos pottery in Lebanon and Cape of Shamara and some kinds of pottery in Thessaly during the Neolithic period, though the latter kind is of unmatchable high quality. These similarities go back to the direct or indirect trade relations among there regions. It could be proved that primitive Cypriot religion, like the religions of Crete in the Neolithic age, included the arts of magic. The small statues discovered in Chirokitia which could be a continuation of the female statues found in Thessaly illustrate this idea. If these statues in Chirokitia were offerings presented to *Magna Mater* seeking remedy, it means we have a decisive proof about a flourishing civilization in Chirokitia. Generally speaking, the circular buildings (*tholoi*) in the Cypriot city are similar in shape and function to the buildings of Tepe Gawra and Arpachiyah in the period of Tell Halaf and Byblos in Syria (3500 – 3250 BC), likewise the buildings discovered in the middle of Anatolia (Eti Yokusu) and in Jerico in Palestine, in addition to the islands in the Aegean Sea.

As to the population concentration belonging to the Neolithic age (No.1), present in Kastros at St Andreas in the farthest east of Karpass peninsula, it goes back to the beginning of the sixth millennium BC. It is composed of *tholoi* cottages made of mud or bricks. There is what indicates that ceilings were erected on woollen bases. There is an opening for the chimney in the cottage floor surrounded by small holes, which could be the bases for small columns or stands for a wooden hearth lined with pottery.

Between Rhizokarpasso and Cape Andreas, there is another population concentration belonging to the Neolithic age, which indicates the high density of population in this area. Fishing was the

main source of sustenance as indicated by the fish bones, the seashells and the fishing tools found on the site. One of the most heavily populated and rich areas in circular houses of prehistoric monuments in Cyprus is Kissonerga Mosphilia in Paphos. The architectural design there, specially the way of erecting ceilings, suggests their developed knowledge. We can even notice a development in the very social structure by following the levels of the architectural structure extended from 4000- 2500 BC. Some small pottery statues were discovered there, which are so meticulous and delicate in their carving and in the beauty of their paintings.

Thus, we find ourselves confronting amazing facts concerning Cypriot civilization in the Old Stone Age, the most important of which is the scarcity of the sites of Chirokitian civilization. This asserts the given theory that the peninsula had been subjected to a wave of habitation coming from the east or the eastern north where the centre of habitation was close to the source of this habitation wave in the Aceramic era of the Neolithic age. There is another proof of foreign colonialisation that came from Kalavassos-Tenta and from Mari Messovouni in the South of Cyprus: the houses in Tenta were circular (*tholoi*) or semi-circular and had an upper story erected on two square columns with thresholds and windows. As to the walls, they were painted and decorated[(4)].

The Chalcolithic Age extends from 3200 – 2300 BC (or circa 3900-2500 BC) and it nearly equals the later period of the Neolithic age. Some of the important cultural centres of the period are Erimi-Pamboula, Lemba-Lakkous, Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, Kissonerga-Mosphilia, Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, Kalavassos, Lapethos, and Kythrea. The Chalcolithic age is characterized by the spirit of reservation whether in its artistic concepts or in its technical manners and application.

All that has been discovered is considered a settlement measure,

(4) ARDAC (1981), p. 254.

in spite of some exceptions. This spirit of reservation reflects an atmosphere of peace and security that allows continuity. In contrast to circular construction in the known and preferred architecture in the previous period represented by Erimi-Pamboula and Lemba-Lakkous, the following period as exemplified in the surviving buildings in Sotira Kaminoudhia – (the second chalcolithic period) – shows quadrangular stone structures divided into several rooms. A number of red and white pottery pots were discovered, some of which were made of fine red and polished ceramic which ushered in the Bronze Age. In addition, many other tools, jewelry and various pots were discovered which indicates the progress of Philia's civilization. There are about 24 sites belonging to what is called Sortira's civilization, likewise the transition from the Chalcolithic age to the Early Bronze Age was condensed in certain sites in the north opposite Asia Minor. The copper mines have appeared in Cyprus since the fourth millennium BC near the temples.

No drastic developments have taken place in the religious beliefs or the rites of the burial of the dead. A discovery of the male organ (*Phallos*) was made in Soskiou along with two other small statues made of soapstone (ashlar) for a male and a female in an intersecting form. Likewise, two statues of a nude woman were found. All that asserts that the prehistoric Cypriot religion had started with consecrating the dead in the Stone Age and developed into sanctifying life itself through the worship of a divine power of fertility that grew, flourished, and branched in the following historic ages.

The Early Bronze Age (3000-1800 BC, or 2300-1900 BC) coincided with the beginning of the middle and late Chalcolithic age (i.e. its second and third phases). The polished red ceramic, known as Philia's ceramic, was the common kind and was found in Kyra Alonia, Kyra Kamina, Kaminothkia near Sotira, Trapezi, Vounos, Philia-Vassiliko, Philia Drakos, Arpera, in Vasilia, Dhenia, and Agia Paraskevi in the south of Nicosia. It was also found in Krissiliou in the north south of Morfu, in Lefka, Agios Georgios, in Polemidia, Pyrgos in Limassol. It was found in Kotchati, in Citium, Prodromos in

Larnaca, in Lapithos and the valley of Ovgos and in other places. It seems that Larnaca had witnessed the advent of new communities coming with different culture of the second Chalcolithic age. The polished red ceramic does not represent a continuation to the second Chalcolithic age, but it indicates the advent of a new element and the introduction of new features based on metallic manufacture and trade established on elements coming from south west of Anatolia, the valley of Konya and Kilikia to be exact. The only dwelling place surviving from the early Bronze age (2700 – 2600 BC or 2400-2300 BC) was found in Agios Georgios. It is circular or oval of the common style in all the Near East. Most probably, those new comers were not invaders, but they were refugees who fled to Cyprus after the destruction that blighted their lands during the period between 3000 – 2900 BC They were highly qualified in handicrafts and enjoyed a tendency towards peace and tranquillity. The first bronze weapons found in Cyprus were in the tombs of Aghia Paraskevi and Vasilia (2700-2600 BC, or 2400 – 2300 BC) where the grandchildren of those Anatolites were in the life of the native inhabitants and were ready with arms to defend Cyprus. Agriculture was the principal means of living and earning one's bread. The plough was employed in addition to hunting, fishing, metal manufacture, pottery-making and spinning. A tangible technological progress was made(5).

The tombs of Vounos provide us with valuable civilised material, specially concerning religious creeds in the Early Bronze Age. Statues for monks, heads of bulls and scenes of tilling the earth were found. As to the large statues there, probably each one of them represents the deceased buried in the tomb. These statues remind us of Egyptian tombs and temples. As to the presence of bulls in one of the buildings there, it might indicate that they were given as offerings to their gods or to the departed. Some researchers believe that wearing the masks of

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(5) For more information about Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age and its contribution to the promotion of trade in the East Mediterranean region, the Near and Middle East and in Anatolia, see:
J. Mellaart, *The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Near East and Anatolia*, Beirut: Khayats, 1966, pp. 13 ff.

bulls and holding snakes during the religious rites in the temple discovered there could symbolise fertility and death respectively.

The late Bronze Age (circa 1600-1050 BC) nearly coincides with the Mycenaean-Achaean habitation period. That age had several positions and situations, though places of habitation and settlement had changed, inscription and imported Aegean pottery appeared and new Cypriot cultural initiatives emerged. The reason was because the need in the Aegean Sea for minerals gave Cyprus a special importance and helped in enhancing trade and cultural relations. The most important centres of civilization of the period were Enkomi, Citium (Kition), Tomba Tou Skourou, Morphou, Vryssi tou Barba in Lapethos, the mineral sites in Nicosia and Athienou, Tekke and Agios Sozomenos, Apliki and Mathiatis. The last years of the Late Bronze Age are characterized by commotion and unrest as indicated by the people's return to erect forts and shelters. In interpretation of this, it is said that it was as a consequence of the rivalry between the east of Cyprus and its west to obtain copper mines and arable land. There is a more common interpretation which is the invasion of the Hyksos to Cyprus after conquering Egypt between 1675-1580 BC. However, their defeat and dismissal from Egypt by the Pharaoh Ahmose II (1850 – 1557 BC) [6] had helped the flourishing and development of industrial cities in the South of Cyprus – Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni, Enkomi and others. As to the north, we notice that Dhenia and Lapethos were rapidly declined, probably due to turning towards the south for brass trade, whereas the northern parts of Cyprus had relied on trade relations with Crete.

**(6) It is worth mentioning that Ahmose II was courteous towards the Greeks; nevertheless, this did not prevent him from competing with them in the Meditarranean. His fleet therefore captured the Island of Cyprus. See:
Abdel Aziz Salih, The Ancient Near East, Vol.I Egypt and Iraq, Fourth Ed., Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Pub., 1984, pp 308, 311, and 315. See also:
M. Bernal, Black Athena, The Afro-Asiatic Roots of classical civilization, vol. 11, Rutgers Univ. Press, 1993, pp 330 ff. Z. El Habashi, Tutankamun and the Sporting Traditions, New York: Peter Lang, 1992, pp. 69-71, 147, 148, 153.**

The natural situation formed by the briny lake Tekke[7] was used as an active port to export copper to the East and West until the end of the Bronze Age. Some harbour were discovered on the western side of the lake. Both the lake and the city overlooking it with its port were an entrance to the whole island and to proceeding further towards the East. It was an entrance as well to the Mycenaeans whether for their trade across the island or for settlement there. The Minoan – Mycenaean standard of local industry is illustrated by a piece of Mycenaean pottery, a crater, found there, representing a human form somersaulting on a bull's back. The scene has an equal in Crete.

Some mud balls were also found in Hala Sultan Tekke, though it is not known for what purpose they were used. They had Cypriot-Minoan inscription on them. In the same place a 12th century ceramic sceptre was found, decorated with the cartouche of Horemheb (1348-1320 BC). Likewise, a bottle of wine signed by the cartouche of Pharaoh Setti (circa 1312-1300BC), scarabs of Amenophies III (1402-1364 BC) were found, the latter in Paleo-Paphos Scales in a tomb that goes back to the eleventh century BC More important, the many Mycenaean vessels, specially the large ones, for they are decorated with elements of the Aegean Sea and Near East type of decoration, as the vessels found in Niki, Curium, Maroni, Pyla, and Enkomi.

There are buildings made of ashlar (soapstone) in Citium, Tekke and Enkomi, most probably built by masons from Ugarit who migrated to Cyprus and erected these buildings, after the destruction of Ugarit about 1200 BC. Trojan ceramics were also found in Enkomi, Pyla-Verghin and Citium, which indicates the connection between Sea Peoples with Anatolia and the region of Troy.

There is also a bronze trident with tubular socket and burbed points, used probably to give offerings, found in a tomb in Tekke and

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(7) It should be noted that the appellation Hala Sultan Tekke is the modern name of the place, which will acquire a special importance after Muawiya Ben Abu Sufian's invasion of Cyprus in the seventh century AD. Up till now there is Tikiya Om Haram, which will be discussed in some details later on in the book.

its origin is the Near East.

However, there is a historical mystery: why did all the habitation centres around the lake, including Tekke, wholly migrated at the end of the eleventh century BC, where the sea water submerged the port and the region was turned into swamps, and inhabitants turned to nearby Citium. It is believed an earthquake or a natural catastrophe occurred and destroyed the civilization of the Cypriot Bronze Age, and consequently, the city of Hala Sultan Tekke was forsaken and its inhabitants turned to Citium which was partly destroyed, but remained inhabited. This is illustrated by the fossiles of Kathari, which had been on the coast and covered a vast area that reached the borders of the city of Citium in Pre-historic times. It was in Kathari that Phoenician inhabitants restored the Mycenaean temple and turned it into a temple for their goddess Astarte.

The Minoan Cypriot script compared by specialists to Linear A in Crete came to Cyprus and prevailed circa 1500 BC. Most probably it was derived directly from Crete which had had close ties with Cyprus in cultural and commercial fields since Early Bronze Age, i.e. before the era of building the great colossal palaces in Crete. It is noted that there are monumental articles in each of the Islands coming from the other, to the extent that they found Cypriot talents in Crete and Cretan vessels, polished and coloured, in Cyprus, as well as other countless objects. Nonetheless, historians have observed a decline in Cypriot-Cretan relations about 1500 BC, which led some of them to suggest that Minoan Cypriot script had been taken by Cypriots from Cretan merchants since the Middle Bronze Age. The latters were living in Ugarit and other places in Syria whose Colony in Crete had imposed the early script in the region, Linear A, on the trade world as a means of transaction and comprehension.

Adopting the Minoan Cretan script was a great step towards the development of thinking in Cyprus. The Minoan Cypriot inscriptions that have survived are not Greek. The Achaean settlement started in Cyprus long after 1500 BC. Though until now the eighty remaining

signs of the Minoan Cypriot script have not been deciphered yet, it is obvious that they were commonly used in the whole of Cyprus. There is another type of Minoan Cypriot script number 2 that appeared in the thirteenth century BC in Enkomi. These signs are written in a horizontal way in a traditional Oriental manner. The signs were reduced to sixty, which indicates a constant development towards simplification. A Minoan Cypriot script number 3 was discovered on a placard in Ugarit. The Mycenaean inhabitants in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC used the Minoan Cypriot script, not their traditional script Linear B, after adapting to the environment they had to deal with. In addition to that, many seals belonging to this epoch were found bearing a clear Aegean or Oriental mark, made of different material, having different forms and used in commercial purposes(8).

The late Bronze Age in Cyprus can be generally compared with the Mycenaean Age in the nearby Greek Lands. It was an age in which the Greek existence in Cyprus started on the ethnological realm side by side with the cultural and political interaction as well as the trade exchange. What facilitated the domination and management of the Island for the Mycenaeans was their technological supremacy in weapons and managing the war. It is observed that the sole development that occurred in 1200 BC concerning the Cypriot weapons was the appearance of the spearhead with numerous punches. The Mycenaean occupation caused a change in metallurgy and the making of weapons. There is no doubt that the use of the long cutting sword was a decisive factor in accomplishing their invasion of Cyprus at the end of the thirteenth century BC (9).

As to the Cypriot – Aegean relations, they are illustrated in several monuments as the storing pots with two handles and conic ears, as well as pottery vessels with conic projection at the shoulder.

(8) Compare: M. Bernal : "On the Transmission of the Alphabet to Aegean before 1400 BC", Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 267 (1987) pp. 1-19.

(9) [Greek] IEE Vol. A (Karageorghis) pp. 338-352.

Cypriot products or at least products influenced by Cypriot style were found in Achaea like pots (*stirrup*) which are undecorated and they have triangles or half circles at the shoulder. At the beginning of the eleventh century BC, the Aegean-Cypriot relations became very close and strong. There is a similarity between the vessels in Enkomi, Salamis, Lapethos and Palaeopaphos on the one hand, and Athens and Naxos on the other.

Cyprus had kept its distinguished feature in spite of accepting foreign influences whether from Crete and Greece, or from the East, particularly from Egypt. This is illustrated through drawings depicting 13th century sports on the Cypriot vessels. It is known that wrestling and boxing were introduced to Cyprus through Mycenae with all the cultural accompaniments. These two games came to Mycenae from their place of origin, Crete, which could have imported them from Egypt[10]. This indicates that they did not come straight from Crete to Cyprus, but came across Mycenae. After the Achaean – Mycenaean invasion about 1200 BC, and due to the disintegration that affected the Mycenaean communities in the Peloponnese peninsula, successive waves of immigrations came out heading towards known and perspective regions in the Near East, the East of the Mediterranean, and the Aegean Sea. A sweeping wave turned towards the south of Ugarit in Syria and Palestine. It was the wave of the "Sea Peoples", "who later attacked the south of Alasia – Cyprus - with Ugaritan warships though they had been Ugarit's old ally. About 1222 BC both Enkomi and Citium were destroyed; and in 1190 BC Shuppiluliumen II, the Hittite King was boasting that he had launched war on Alasia and destroyed its fleet. These waves were destructive, but some "Sea Peoples", the Mycenaeans among them, settled in the destroyed regions of Cyprus and rehabilitated it and added the Cyclopic walls[11],

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(10) Habashi, op. cit., p. 52 et passim.

(11) Reference to Cyclopes, the one-eyed giants according to Greek mythology. They are mentioned in Homer, specially in the Odyssey, which relates that Odysseus landed in their country and that one of them, Polyphemus, ate two of Odysseus' comrades. Odysseus blinded him and escaped with his comrades. Polyphemus was Acis's rival in the love of Galatia. When the huge walls were built in =

which they built on the ruins of the old mud walls. This is what happened to Enkomi, Citium, Sinda, Ma'a-paliocastron, Pyla-Kokkino-remmos and others.

A new civilized stage, therefore, started, and Mycenaean and Helladic ceramics appeared in the aforementioned places as well as in other places. This kind of pottery came with the new Mycenaean inhabitants. Archaeologists differ as to the dry pastoral type that was produced in Cyprus at that time. Some of them consider it a degenerating type of the late Mycenaean style, whereas some recent studies tend to believe that the pastoral type existed side by side with the Mycenaean. In addition to these, other Cypriot styles appeared. At the same time, the Trojan style was imported from some place near Troy, which indicates that the "Sea Peoples" came to Cyprus through Anatolia.

There is another view that says the destruction incurred upon Cyprus in 1190 BC was due to the severe contention that occurred between the native Cypriots and the new Achaean citizens asserted by an additional wave of their fellow citizens coming from Peloponnese. Successive waves came from the Achaeans, Minoans, and Eastern refugees who were forced to leave Palestine after the overflowing of the "Sea Peoples" to the region and their settling there. Pottery found from this period confirms this information. It is also confirmed by the testimony of one of the Egyptians who witnessed life in Alasia – Cyprus circa 1075 and 1050 BC[(12)].

= Mycenaean cities, people attributed them to the Cyclopes and said they are Cyclopean Walls" indicating they were too huge to be built by man. For more information about "Sea Peoples' mentioned in old sources, see:

N. Sandars, The Sea Peoples, Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1978, passim.

(12) The intermingling of civilization between Egypt and the ancient East on the one side, and Cyprus and Greece on the other was so strong that the study of one of their civilization has become essential to understand the other's. In other words we can say that the ancient Egyptian sources, as well as the ancient Eastern languages are considered some of the important tools of research for whoever is interested to delve deeply in the origin of the civilization of Cyprus and =

The Mycenaean invasion of Cyprus is reflected in the legends of establishing the cities on the hands of Achaean heroes and leaders. For example, Kepheus[13] is the founder of Kyrenia, called after an ancient Mycenaean city; while Praxadros[14] who came from Lacedaemon (Sparta) is the founder of Lapithos; and Teukros[15] founded the city of Salamis on the coast near Enkomi-Alasia. Thereupon, Salamis was the inheritor of this ancient city and turned into a political and cultural centre, and became a fortified place for the Cypriot Hellenism, though it lies at the farthest east of the Island. Likewise, Agapenor[16] who came from Tegea founded Nea Paphos; while Chalkanor[17] founded

= Greece. Likewise, the specialist in Egyptology and ancient Oriental studies cannot do without the Greek and Latin texts. I have referred to this subject several times in previous studies, and I would also like refer to the following: [Arabic] Ahmed Etman: "Taha Husain and the Future of Classica Culture in Egypt and the Arab World", Memorial Volume for Taha Husain, Faculty of Arts, Cairo University. 1998 pp. 687-770. See also:
Ahmed Etman, "Isis in the Greco-Roman World with a special reference to Plutarch's Treatise De Iside et Osiride" JOAS (1990) pp. 11-21.

(13) Greek Legends contain more than one person bearing the same name, the most famous is Kepheus, the king of Ethiopia and the father of Andromeda. There is also Kepheus, the king of Tegea in Arcadia in the peninsula of Peloponnese in Greece. He is one of the heroes of the ship Argo led by Jason to bring the Golden Fleece from Colchis on the Black Sea.

(14) For more information about Praxandros, the founder of Lapethos see: [Greek] Hatzedemetriou, p. 27.

(15) Teukros (Teucer), is the son of Telamon from his wife Hesione. He is half brother to the more famous hero Aias (Ajax) whose name is given as one of the titles of the seven extant plays of Sophocles. Teukros is a title which means the Trojan because his mother, Hesione, was the daughter of - aomedon. When Teukros came back after the war of Troy, he was sent into exile as a punishment since his father considered him responsible for the death of his brother Aias (Ajax). So, he went to Cyprus and founded Salamis.

(16) Agapenor was the leader of the Arcadian contingent in the Greek army that besieged Troy for ten years (The Iliad, II 609). On his way back, after the end of the Trojan war, Agapenor reached Cyprus (Lycophr. 479 ff.). He, then, founded Nea Paphos and erected a temple for Aphrodite and settled on the Island (Pausan. VIII 502).

(17) It seems that the name Chalkanor is related to Chalkos (Copper). He is the founder of Idaleon in Greek legends. [Greek] Hatzedemetriou, p 27.

Idaleon, and Chytros[18] built the city of Chytroi, which is also called Kythra or Kythria. As to Demophon[19], he established Aipeia. The Argives, sons of Argos, Founded Kourion; while Akamas[20] the son of Athens' national hero, Theseus, together with his brother, Demophon, and with the help of the Athenian Phaleros established the city of Soloi, hence the name Akamas Peninsula.

The process of hellenizing Cyprus, was accomplished during the period between 1190 to 1175 BC. It was a process that accompanied the history of the Trojan war Greek (1184 BC). It was also an integrated process that involved politics, economics, and culture, as Greek language was introduced to Cyprus. Naturally, each group of Greek. lineage brought with them their own dialects. Agapenor, for instance, introduced the Arcadian dialect into Nea Paphos. This invasion came at the end of the Late Bronze Age, after an almost complete destruction of the ancient sites of civilization. It was accompanied with the advent of strong Eastern elements. It has been proved that Achaean Hellenic settlement in Cyprus had taken place during the Late Bronze Age and following it, from the thirteenth to the eleventh centuries BC in particular. It is the incident recorded in the monuments of the island. It is noticed that it was this settlement that diminished the importance of the other incoming elements. Thus, the Mycenaeans succeeded in grabbing Cyprus away from Hittitean and Egyptian circle of powers, to become an advanced site to defend

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(18) Chytros in ancient Greek means "a deep hole" or a "bowl". The plural "Chytroi" refers to one of the important festivals in Athens called Anthisteria. It is also the name used for the hot springs at thermopylae springs in the Greek lands. Aristophanes mentioned the Chytrian festivals in the Archanians (1076) and the Frogs (218). See: Jane Harrison, *Epilegomena to the study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, (1921) 1980, pp. 33-37.
Eadem, Themis, *A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, (1927) 1977, pp. 284 – 294.

(19) Demophon is the son of Athens national hero, Theseus, and he is the brother of Akamas. The two brothers took part in the Trojan War. Demophon is also a name of a Cape or a projection in Cyprus.

(20) See the previous footnote and: Strabo, XIV 6.3.

Hellenism. Nonetheless, the contention between East and West concerning Cyprus represents the general historical feature since ancient times until now.

The foundation of Achaean kingdoms in Asia Minor followed to support the Hellenic existence in Cyprus, which has remained Hellenic in everything since, without losing its commercial or cultural relations with its Eastern neighboring countries. The king of Paphos, Kinyras[21], was involved in the Trojan War, the most important event of that time. The war was followed by an Achaean – Hellenic wave of immigration into Cyprus.

The Mycenaean style of tombs appeared in Cyprus after 1150 BC. It is the style of the room-tomb. The Mycenaean vessels also appeared in Cyprus, whether they were imported or locally made. A new dawn of commercial flourishing with the Near and Middle East emerged in which Cyprus played the connecting juncture or the fulcrum. So, rapprochement between the ancient East and the Hellenic world began in Cyprus and Mycenae. This is illustrated in the similarity between Mycenaean religion on the one hand, and the Palestine-Syrian and Egyptian religion on the other. This kind of merging in civilization took a certain perspective in Cyprus. The Greeks attempted to make a balance between their arts and the Oriental concepts without altering their intellect or way of thinking, i.e. their Hellenic identity. Enkomi's deity is Apollo Alasiotes. Though he bears some Eastern features he is a pure Helleni. The same thing is said about Aphrodite and the other Cypriot deities as they have deep roots in the Cypriot soil even before the Hellenic – Mycenaean invasion.

The settling of the Mycenaeans for a long time in Vryssakia near Hala Sultan Tekke extended from the sixteenth century till the twelfth

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(21) Kinyras is the name of an Assyrian king whose daughter Hera turned into stairs in her temple (Ovid, Metamorphoses, vi, 98); while Kinyras, the legendary king of Cyprus was the son of Pygmalion and the father of Myrrha from whom he got Adonis (Ovid, Metamph. X 299 ff and 712).

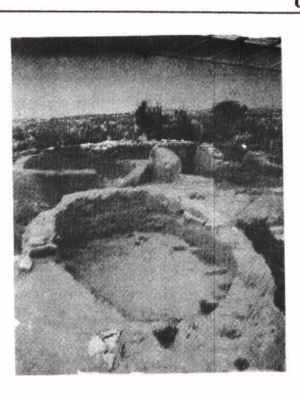


Fig. No. (7)

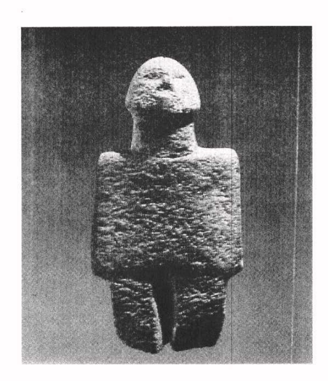
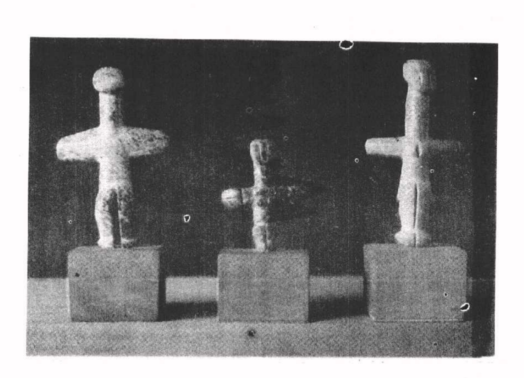


Fig. No. (8)



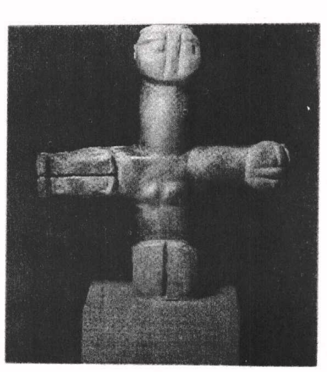


Fig. No. (9)



Fig. No. (10)



Fig. No. (11)



Fig. No. (12)

الهيروغليفيه
خط الكتابة ١
خط الكتابة II
القبرصية المينوية
القبرصية الكلاسيكية

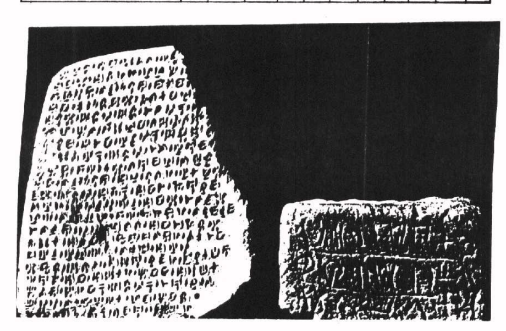


Fig. No. (13)

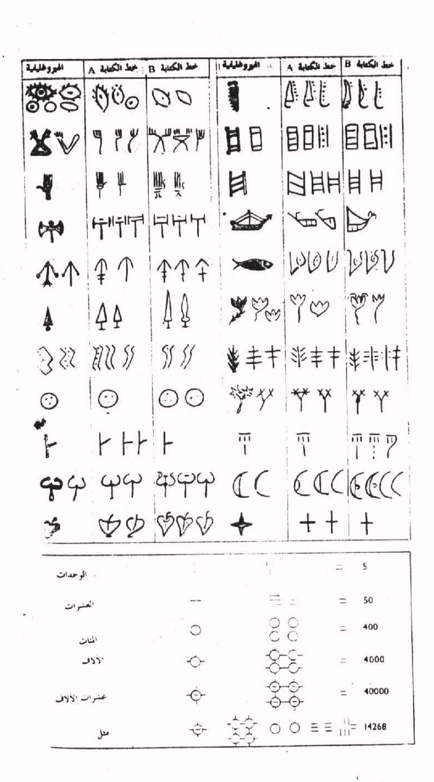

الوحدات
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العشرات
= 50
المئات
= 400
الآلاف
= 4000
عشرات الآلاف
= 40000
مثل
= 14268

Fig. No. (14)

	A	E	I	O	U
	𐠀	𐠁	𐠂	𐠃	𐠄
P	𐠞	𐠟	𐠠	𐠡	𐠢
T	𐠭	𐠮	𐠯	𐠰	𐠱
K	𐠊	𐠋	𐠌	𐠍	𐠎
L	𐠏	𐠐	𐠑	𐠒	𐠓
M	𐠔	𐠕	𐠖	𐠗	𐠘
N	𐠙	𐠚	𐠛	𐠜	𐠝
R	𐠣	𐠤	𐠥	𐠦	𐠧
J	𐠅	[illegible]		𐠈	
V	𐠲	𐠳	𐠴	𐠵	
S	𐠨	𐠩	𐠪	𐠫	𐠬
X		𐠸			
Z	𐠼			𐠿	

Fig. No. (15)

Fig. No. (16)

Fig. No. (17): Cyprus in the Chalcic Age

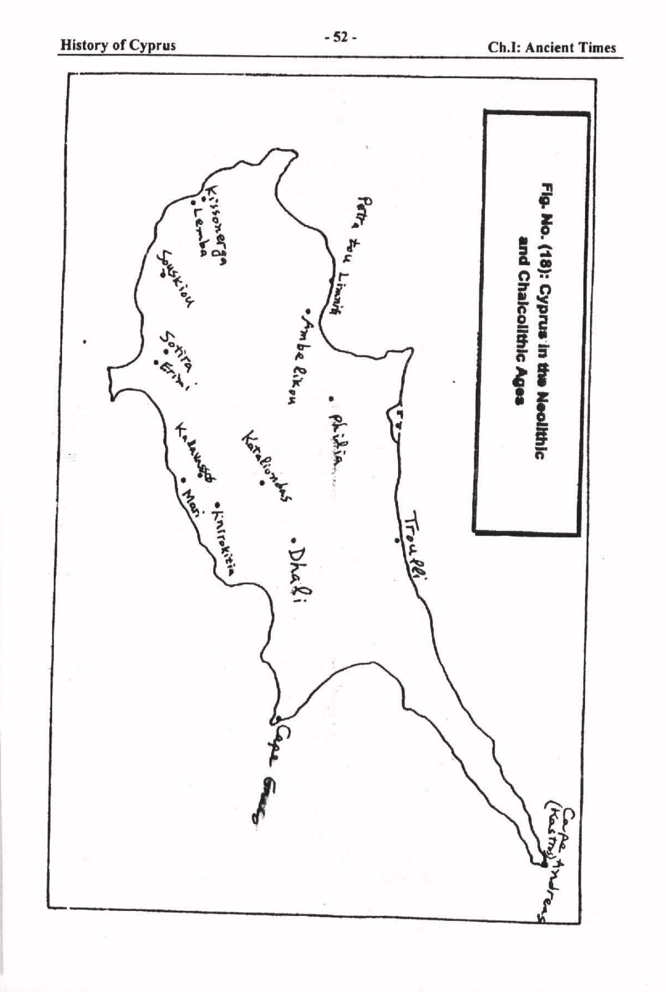


Fig. No. (18): Cyprus in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Ages

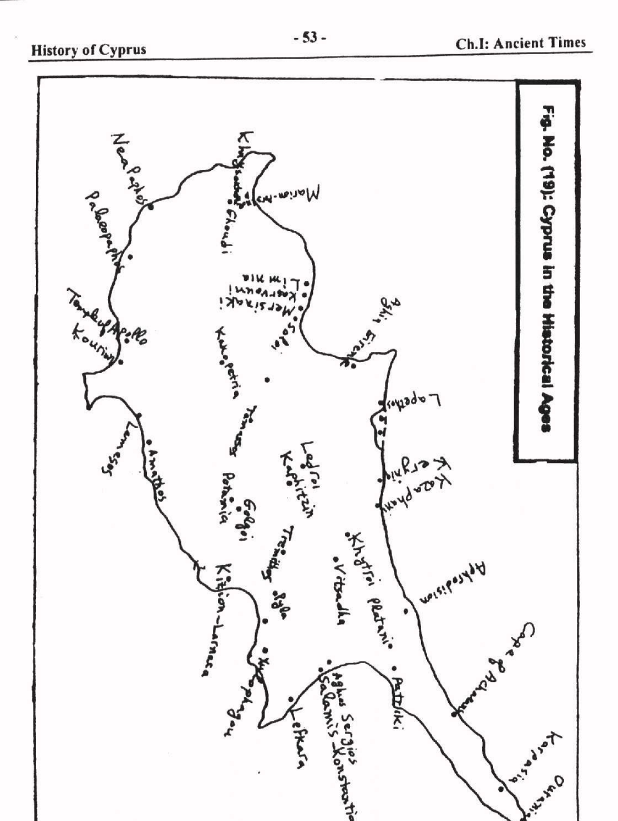


Fig. No. (19): Cyprus in the Historical Ages

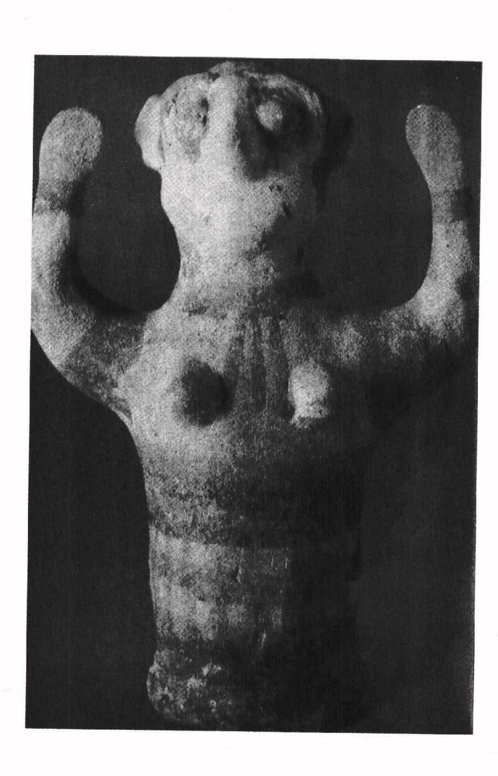


Fig. No. (20)

century BC. The goddess of fertility is drawn on a cylindrical ring surrounded with some deers that jump here and there. Sinda had been a fortified colony in the valley of Messaria in the west of Enkomi but was ruined about 1230 at the hands of the Achaean "people of the sea" who established a new city on top of the old ruins, as happened in Enkomi, Maia and Citium (Kition). Golgoi was situated between the mines of Troodos and Citium's export harbour. There, a temple had been built since the fourteenth century BC.

Nea Kition had Cyclopic walls and contained brass manufacture. This industrial district has been discovered in the city. Metallurgy was the main economic activity there, protected by a certain deity as in the case of Enkomi. The factories were open to the sky, without a ceiling, to allow the southern wind to dissipate the clouds of smoke away from the inhabitants. The dead used to be buried in the court of the house, a common custom between Citium and Ugarit. Goddess Astarte was worshipped in Citium, likewise the Egyptian deity, Bes, the god of healing and curing, the protector of pregnant women and the guardian of the people of the house was worshipped there. His temple dates back to 1200 BC, and it resembles the Egyptian structural patterns of temples. Some inscriptions were found in the temple written in Minoan Cypriot script indicating that the temple's clergy used to perform rites of worship to the goddess of fertility. There were also found some statues for this goddess belonging to the Early Stone Age, raising her arms with projected breasts. There is, therefore, a relationship between this goddess and the Egyptian god Bes who might have been introduced to Citium by the Phoenician merchants before occupying the city. Another smaller statue for the Egyptian god was discovered and it belongs to the eleventh century BC. It was brought by the Phoenicians who had occupied Citium and had also mastered the making of the mask that distinguished the Egyptian deity that was probably the model on which the mythical Greek creatures as *Satyrs* and *Sileni* were built on.

It is noteworthy to say that the changes that had accompanied the Mycenaean invasion to Cyprus, specially Citium and Enkomi, since

the thirteenth century BC were itself fused with the Eastern influences. Therefore, the ultimate result of that invasion-along with the influences of "the Sea Peoples" who roamed the eastern Mediterranean – was that a unique fusion of civilization appeared. It was found in the discovered monuments in Cyprus, the Island that played the link of civilization among the peoples of the region.

2- Alasia (Cyprus) and the peoples of the ancient East

One day in 1991/1992, I received a letter from Cyprus in which the senders said they were the sons of a city whose ancient name was Alasia, and that its name is mentioned in the ancient Egyptian inscription in Tal Al-Amarna. They were requesting my assistance to find out the truth of the matter. When I searched I realized the difficulty to reach the truth. It actually needs more time and a collaborate effort. However, I am presenting the results I reached. The first name given to the Island of Cyprus was Alasia or Alashya, as this name was used in the texts of 18 and 17 centuries BC. They were texts found in Alalakh and Mari(22), though Sp. Marinatos, the Greek archaeologist who has excavated the famous monuments of Thira, believes that the relation between the name Alasia and the Greek expression *Alesion pedion* is very obvious(23). Moreover, some scholars say that Alasia could be a name of any other city not exclusively Enkomi. The name was not used for the whole of Cyprus, as some thought. Nonetheless, it was mentioned in a Phoenician inscription that all the peninsula carried the name Alasia until the seventh century BC, or perhaps until a later date(24). Though some other names were used,

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(22) P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavation, 1948-1958. Nicosia, 1971 , pp. 534 ff.

(23) Sp. Marinatos. IIAA (1961) pp. 5-6. As to the Greek phrase, it means "the grinding place" and we do not perceive its relation to the name 'Alasia'.

(24) P. Masson. "Apropos d'Alasia". Kadmos xii (1973) pp. 98-99. L. Helbing. "Alasia Problems." Sima LVII (1979)

In the second volume of his book, Black Athena which caused a row Martin Bernal says:

"The name Bsy leads to great complications, as it falls between two names, both of which are themselves the subjects of great dispute. =

the foremost among them was '*Kypros*' which is derived from '*Kypeiros*', that is galingale, which is a fragrant plant the perfume of which was considered an anti-death remedy. This plant remained along with Myrsine attached to Cyprus and Aphrodite throughout history. Those who defend the name Alasia as the oldest name of the entire Island say that it was probably a name of a city on the Island. Certainly it was the capital of a united state, probably called 'the Empire of Alasia', since its kings were equal to the kings of the East at that time. The truth of this is indicated in the letters that came from Alasia or *Asi* to Akhnaton (Amenhoteb IV), the Pharaoh of Egypt, during the period from 1364-1362 BC found in Tal Al Amarna. Some scholars believe that Cyprus was a strong ally to Egypt and that 'the King of Alasia' advised the Pharaoh not to conclude an agreement with the Hittites, "the enemies of Alasia"[(25)]. In other letters from the king of Alasia to the Pharaoh of Egypt the commercial affairs were the principal axis. From the most important letters we learn that one of the kings of Alasia asked the Pharaoh for gold, silver, a deluxe kind of oil pitcher, horses, carriages, a bed made of ebony inlaid with gold, and some clothes for women ...etc. Such merchandise was imported from Egypt in return for copper and other metal and wood products.

One of the kings of Alasia asked Amenhoteb III, the Pharaoh of Egypt, (1402 – 1364 BC) to send him back the fortune of one of the

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= *The first and less controversial of these is, , irs, commonly vocalized as Alasia on the basis of Akkadian and Hittite transcriptions. Irs is generally accepted as the name for Cyprus, though some scholars identify it as a stretch of coastline in south Anatolia. This name is attested from Egypt and elsewhere only in the New Kingdom. Given the fact that during the Middle Kingdom the 3 was a liquid, the suggestion made by Metzer and Helck that Bsy was the earlier form of Alasia seems plausible, and this would also fit evidence from the Mit Rahina inscription.... Thus Bsy may refer to Enkomi or another of the chief cities of Cyprus*". (Martin Bernal, Black Athena, vol. II. The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence, 1993, pp. 232-233, CF. 378, 460-465, 469, 471, 480, 494.

(25) V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, 1982, p. 67.

Cypriot merchants who died in Egypt. In another letter it was mentioned that a messenger of the Pharaoh of Egypt came to Alasia and was obliged to remain there for three years because the workers in copper mines became scarce, for the deity *Nergal Sprm* had killed all men, which indicates the spread of an epidemic disease that claimed the lives of men. The epidemic could have spread after a destructive earthquake that overwhelmed the Island, including Enkomi, about 1375 – 1350 BC. It could also be a reference to one of foreign invasions Alasia had been subjected to.

.G. Glotz believes that we cannot gather from the depth of the relations between Egypt and Cyprus that this Island was a province attached to Egypt. The Cypriot delegations, in fact, were like their Cretan counterparts not treated as people who came to show allegiance or to pay taxes. They were trade delegations who came to make deals and contracts to exchange products and manufactured commodities[26]. Through the study and examination of the nature of the Egyptian products found in ancient sites in Cyprus, dated back to 1400 BC, the knowledgeable Karageorghis gathers that the Cypriot – Egyptian relations came to an end when Ugarit became under the rule of Hittites. Trade between the two countries had been accomplished through Ugarit as a mediator. Karageorghis asserts that Cyprus itself became part of the Hittitean Empire between 1400-1200 (or 1190) BC, and that the people of Alasia paid the tribute. However, this matter is controversial.

Cyprus used to export brass and its products to the neighbouring countries as Cypriot pottery from the Middle Bronze Age was found in some of these copper. In about 1600 BC, copper was exported to some countries abroad as inland trade was passing through some depression. Enkomi then as well as the place now called Hala Sultan Tekke became outstanding as commercial ports for economic centres. Their names became more distinguished than other names of cities in the Middle Bronze Age (1725 – 1650 BC) as Kalopsida and Lapethos. Religious

(26) G. Glotz, The Aegean Civilization, 1925 (1968), pp. 207-8.

creeds continued from the Early Bronze Age to the Middle one. This is proved by modern excavations as they found statues for children that symbolize fertility. Other statues were also discovered illustrating mistresses and servants buried with the dead. They copy the Syrian models, and most probably some of them depict Astarte or Ashtoreth, which is considered the Oriental origin to the Cypriot-Greek goddess Aphrodite[27]. It is remarked that in Cyprus the Greek hero, Hercules, combines between Greek and Phoenician elements (*Melqart*) as well as Egyptian features (god Bes)[28].

From the fossils found in Lapethos and from its relics of the Geometric Age, can be argued that slaves and servants were given as offerings and buried with their masters in special rituals performed at the burial place. This suggests the transposition of Eastern beliefs of the existence of another kind of life after death to Cyprus. In Curium which was occupied by the Ugaritans (1190-1150 BC), we found what indicates the burial of the dead, in the monuments of Kaloriziki in particular (1050-950 BC) side by side with underground burials. That was exactly what happened in the Greek lands and Asia Minor. It is not new in spite of the differences between Farnell and Rohde as well

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(27) About Aphrodite, her other names and the rituals of her worship, see:
[Greek] Hatzioannou, Vol. B. pp. 256 ff.
[Greek] Karla, Parousia (1991/1992) pp. 22-27.

(28) A.G. Orphanides, "Bronze Anthropomorphic figurines in the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art" 20 (1983). SIMA
Nancy Joan Skon-Jedele, "Aigyptiaka", A catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects excavated from Greek Archaeological sites, ca. 1100 – 525 BC, with Historical Commentary. Ph. D. University of Pennsylvania, 1994.
As to Hercules – Melqart, the sources and references concerning this subject, see:
[Greek] Ahmed Etman, pp. 23-68.

לארנן למלקרת בעל צר אש נדר
עבדך עבדאסר ואחי אסרשמר
שן בן אסרשמר בן עבדאסר כ שמע
קלם יברכם

Διονύσιος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ
Σαραπίωνος Τύριοι
Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει

as others concerning the origin of these rituals[29]. Nonetheless, some researchers believe that the burial of the dead came to the Greek lands from Cyprus, Syria, or Asia Minor. We have to connect between all that and the rites of the burial in the epics of Homer. Certainly, it reached the Greek territory after the Mycenaean age that the epics talk about and not before it, which reveals Homer's anachronism[30] and how it combines between Greek lands and the Island of Cyprus.

In one of the ancient Egyptian sources, however, it was mentioned through an eye-witness who saw life in Cyprus that people in Alasia represented one nation and they did not understand the ancient Egyptian language nor the Syrian. It was a princess named Heteb who was living in the city that rescued the Syrian Sailors so as not to give the chance to the king of Byblos (Gebel) to kill the sailors of Alasia in revenge. It was the Syrians who piloted a ship that had on its board the Egyptian priest Wenamon, and it was wrecked at the coast of Cyprus[31].

In addition, J.A. Wilson has mentioned the details of the journey under the title "The Journey of Wenamon to Phoenicia", in his book edited by J.B. Pritchard. He says in the introduction of the book that the journey seems to be a fictional tale, but it talks about a series of real personalities and real events, the fact which indicates that it is based on a historical basis. Wenamon was a priest in the temple of Amon at Karnak who was sent to the Phoenician coast, Byblos to be

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(29) L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero-Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921.
E.Rohde, *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*, Trans from 18th. Ed. By W.B. Hillis, London, 1925.
See also:
[Arabic] Ahmed Etman, "The Nature of Spirit and Life in Graves in Greek Thought", *Ebda' Journal* No 12 (May 1994) pp. 13-22.
[Arabic] Munira Abd El-Menem Karawan, *The other World in Greek Theatre*, Cairo. Dar Al-Ma'arif, 1993, pp. 9-54.

(30) [Arabic] Ahemd Etman, "Tragic Time in Greek Thought" *Alif: Journal of Comparative Rhetoric*, AUC, No. 9 (1989), pp. 173-188.

(31) G. Hill, A History of Cyprus CUP, 1957 (1989), Wol. 1, pp. 425 ff.
Dikaios, *Enkomi*, vol. 1, pp. 533-4.

exact, to get wood for the sacred ship of the deity. The papyrus that reserved that text dates back to the eleventh century BC. It was found in Heba in Bani Sweif, that is Middle Egypt, and it is kept in a museum in Moscow. At the end of the text which reached us, we read the following:

> ***"So he loaded me in, and he sent me away from there at the harbor of the sea. And the wind cast me on the land of (75) Alashiya. And they of the town came out against me to kill me, but I forced my way through them to the place where Heteb, the princess of the town, was. I met her as she was going out of one house of hers and going into another of hers".***
>
> ***So I greeted her, and I said to the people who were standing near her: "Isn't there one of you who understands Egyptian?" And one of them said: "I understand (it)." So I said to him: "Tell my lady that I have heard, as far away as Thebes, the place where Amon is, that injustice is done in every town but justice is done in the land of Alashiya. Yet injustice is done here every day !" And she said: "Why, what do you (mean) (80) by saying it?: So I told her: "If the sea is stormy and the wind casts me on the land where you are, you should not let them take me in charge to kill me. For I am a messenger of Amon. Look here–as for me, they will search for me all the time ! As to this crew of the Prince of Byblos which they are bent on killing, won't its lord find ten crews of yours, and he also kills them?"***
> ***So she had the people summoned, and they stood (there). And she said to me: "Spend the night..." [32].***

The reference to the Princess as the head of Alasia's government suggests the continuation of the matriarchal system which had remaining traces in Homer's epics and in the system of small Greek and Eastern states. Therefore, it was plausible in Cyprus during the

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(32) J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, Princeton University Press, 1958, pp. 16-24.

twelfth century BC for Alasia to be ruled by a woman. Were the Syrian sailors of Byblos Phoenicians? This is the most probable, and they could be the grandchildren of the " Sea Peoples ". However, it is confirmed through these sources that 'Alasia' was either a city in Cyprus or the whole of Cyprus. In some tombs in the north west of salamis some Syrian vessels were found, some of which copied the Can'an pitchers, side by side with Cretan and Mycenaean ones (1100-1050 BC). This blending between the Eastern and the Greek cultures in Alasia, the city or the Island, has been the distinguished feature of Cyprus from ancient times till today.

All indications illustrate that the ruling system was that of a tyrannical king of the ancient Eastern style. The Royal court was the centre of political, economic life, and even of the administrative, religious and military aspects. This was the prevalent picture of the ruling system in the Mycenaean world. It is not a forced attempt to fabricate the historical facts, for the Mycenaean world itself had close ties with the East. Some scholars go so far to say that they were in fact one world. As to the relations of Alasia with the Aegean Sea, it was very old as exemplified by a couple of bronze leg armours from Enkomi, found in Argos and they are dated to the fourteenth century BC, i.e. the Mycenaean Age or the Late Helladic. All that indicates that Alasia-Cyprus was starting emerging out of its isolation.

Perhaps the important role that raised Enkomi-Alasia politically, culturally, and economically, was also that which finally incurred a series of successive destructive catastrophes. The series started with the Hyksos invasion in the sixteenth century BC and then other catastrophes followed. The most recent of these was what happened between 1222-1190 BC at the hands of "the Peoples of the Sea". The killing stroke, however, was the earthquake that erupted in 1075 BC and destroyed the port and the coastline towards the East. Gradually, the inhabitants emigrated from their dwelling places and turned towards a new spot that could be used as a port. There, they established their new city, Salamis, in the middle of the eleventh century BC.

In the above mentioned book, J.A. Wilson says that in the second half of the eleventh century BC, the Eastern Mediterranean region became congested with inhabitants as large numbers homeless people who had no place on the coasts came and dismissed or mixed with the native inhabitants. It was these immigrations that put an end to the Minoan civilization in Crete, contributed in shaping the historical inhabitants in the Greek territory and in Italy, destroyed the Hittitean Empire, and cast the Palestinians to the land of Kan'an. In the eighth year of the rule of Ramsis III (circa 1188 BC), this Pharaoh prevented them from going further into the fertile valley of the Nile. However, the Asian Empire of Egypt disappeared soon afterwards. These events were recorded on the Temple of Ramsis III in the city of Habu in Luxor. The following details were mentioned in the inscription:

> (I) Year 8 under the majesty of (Ramses III)....
> (I6)... The foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya on, being cut off at [*one time*]...[33].

Enkomi-Alasia was one of the most important centres of civilization. A small temple was found there for a youthful deity that had two hornes, of Eastern-Greek style said to be Nergal (Sprm), the god of the underworld, or Apollo Reshef[34] or Apollo Keratas or Apollo Alasiotes. He represents fertility according to the Eastern concept. If he was Apollo Keratas, he could have reached Cyprus through the Achaeans coming from Arcadia in the thirteenth century BC.

To the east of this temple, a smaller temple was found containing a small statue that seems to be the statue of the wife or companion of the above god. It seems that the idea of a "sacred marriage" (*hieros*

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(33) *Ibid.*, pp. 185 ff.

(34) *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 190, 216.

gamos) goes back to a dual or divisible concept which prevailed in the ancient legenols associated with creation, the making and procreation. One of the relics found in Enkomi – Alasia was "the pot of Zeus", which came from Mycenaean Greek lands in the thirteenth or twelfth century BC, when the Mycenaean world was seeking expansion to the east by establishing small states on the Asian coast. In this framework the Trojan war (1184 BC) took place. The deity holds a scale with two pans(35). And this is another Eastern-Egyptian concept that links between Enkomi-Alasia and the East surrounding Cyprus on the one hand, and the Mycenaean-Greek world, on the other.

The painted Mycenaean pottery had started reaching Cyprus since 1450 BC, particularly after the fall of Knossos in 1380 BC. Some of these pots have the features of the Far East, as the six-wheel carriage instead of the Mycenaean four wheeled one. It seems that special pots were made in Mycenaea specially for exporting them to Cyprus and the Far East. Such pots were found in Enkomi-Alasia, Citium, Cape Shamra Ugarit and other places. Two silver vessels with bone handles were found in Enkomi, and they resemble another vessel found in Dendra, while another one in Enkomi reminds us of a model in Favio. All that refers to the manufacture of silver which started to flourish in Enkomi. Furthermore, some of the monuments discovered during the excavations in Enkomi were those huge houses built of square blocks of stone in the southern sector of the city. Underneath one of the houses there, a ceramic tableau was found bearing long inscription in Cypriot-Minoan script that has not been deciphered yet. The buildings are dated to a post Mycenaean period, and they are believed to have belonged to "the Sea Peoples". They were either the Aegean or other peoples from east the Mediterranean who invaded Alasia in 1222 BC. In 1972 two parts of a protecting armour, the first of its kind in Cyprus and resembles the armours that came from the Aegean Sea and the Near East were found. The culture of these regions is similar to that of Enkomi-Alasia, including the arts and tools of war.

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(35) Cf. Hom., Il. XXII 209-212, XVI 656-688, XIX 223 ff., XI 506 ff., XIV 19 ff., XVIII 69-75.

The building of huge cyclopean walls of square stone blocks is something common in the civilization of Citium and Maa Paleo Castro and perhaps also in the region of Hala Tekke and Paleopaphos. It is believed that these arts came to Cyprus through skilful masons from Anatolia and Ugarit at the time when the Achaeans were arriving at Cyprus circa 1200 BC after the destruction of Ugarit.

It seems that the relations of Cyprus with other countries had started to activate since the Early Bronze Age. That is what is illustrated from the monuments discovered. There is a pitcher of white Syrian pottery found in Quonos, and there is another similar pot found in an early Minoan site. A third one was found in Lapethos and it belongs to the Middle Minoan Age. They also found some blades of a Cretan dagger in Lapethes and a similar one in Quonos and they belong to the same period. Some Egyptian relics were also found in Sotira and Kaminoudhia and other places. There is a story that says that the Acadian king, Sargon I (3346 – 2291 BC) sailed through the sea of the West and reached Cyprus and Crete(36).

Modern archaeological explorations in the West of the mosque of Hala Sultan Tekke near Larnaca and its brine lake which go back to the Late Bronze Age have special importance for the relations of Cyprus with each of Crete, Syria, and Palestine (Can'an – Ugarit). It is depicted on a Minoan pot, and can'ani pitchers; other pots have drawings of palm trees and animals, and another silver pot has elongated Can'ani inscription. One must connect between such pots and a Cypriot one that has the head of a bull found in Ugarit and belongs to the same period. It could have been made in Cyprus by a

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(36) Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86 cf. 120, 195-198, 199. S. lloyd, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia*, 1978, p. 138.
Mellaart, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 167-169. The researcher says that at those times, explorations and commerce flourished, therefore, it was not surprising to find the first picture of ships appear in the monuments (in the Near East region).... Likewise, similar pictures appeared in the monuments of Cyclades islands (in Greece). They appeared afterwards in Crete and Iolkos in Thessaly the reputed port in legends from where the ship *Argo* sailed. (p. 167).

commission from a Syrian trade customer living on the coast. However, Cyprus is thus projected as a centre for cultural and commercial relations with Ugarit. The same thing can be said about Egypt, as they found in the same place scarabs and stones for games. But transaction with Egypt had a heavy blow and was disrupted when the Hittites occupied Ugarit. Again in Hala Sultan a silver ring, and a seal made of green stone were found, all of which belong to a Hittitean origin and indicate the Hittitean control of Cyprus for a period of time. Such facts are mentioned in some other Eastern and Hittitean texts. In Idalion they found pitchers decorated with triangular and semicircular shapes familiar in Achaean and Philistine pottery pots, which suggests the presence of tripartite cultures: Achaean (Mycenaean and Aegean), Cypriot, and Syrian-Philistine. It is even raised as a proof of the presence of a colony established by the people of Shardana and others from the South of Syria in Cyprus after the destruction of Ugarit and after the dismissal of "the Sea Peoples" from the Nile Delta. It seems that the inhabitants of Shardana had moved after that from Cyprus to Sardinia on the Mediterranean. As to the armour found in Enkomi, it came from Philistine and Shardana. They also found some helmets with horns that look like the bull's in a temple in Enkomi. They probably belonged to fighters from Shardana who settled in Cyprus, or had been used by other fighters who migrated to Cyprus because the helmets do not differ from what was common of weaponry in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. If it was true that the bull's horns– the subject of argument in the helmet– were connected with the gilted horns in the temple of the horned god in Enkomi, it could then be part of the ritual head of the bull and therefore, they resemble the horns found in Mycenaean tombs. There is another interpretation which is that the horns represent a helmet for an anthropomorphic statue for a known deity on Cypriot monuments from the second half of the fifteenth century BC, all of which leads us once more to the horned goddess in the south of Syria, particularly in Shamra-Ugarit; and in Lebanon, and Anatolia, among which is the warrior goddess aiming her arrow, taken as Reshef or Ba'l. The bull's horn from Enkomi is taken as part of a mask to be worn while performing worshipping rituals. Therefore, it could be compared with a number of

old Cypriot statues representing masked human beings.

The latest studies say that Keftiu or Caphtor the origin of Philistines that migrated to Palestine at the beginning of the twelfth century BC cannot be Crete or Cilicia. Most probably, it was Cyprus, the east-southern part to be exact. John Strange has succeeded to make of Keftiu-Cyprus theory something plausible without totally negating the probability to be Crete. Perhaps Cyprus had several names at that time. It is worth noting that the Cypriot inscriptions of the Bronze Age are rather scarce, specially those associated with Keftiu and Alasia or those associated with the name of Cyprus in general. However, Strange includes a text that goes back to the twelfth century, the contents of which refer to Keftiu as a country or a state on the Mediterranean and that it had close ties with Mesopotamia and Ugarit. Caphtor imported tin plates and tin from the East and exported them to the Mycenaean world. Therefore, those who used to believe that tin plates were imported from the West – Spain or Britain – to Cyprus, have to reconsider the matter. This greatly helps to consider Caphtor as Cyprus lying on the eastern boundaries of the Mycenaean world. According to what is recorded in ancient Egyptian texts, Keftiu lies to the west of the northern coast of Egypt, and to the west of the southern coast of Syria. Thereupon, both Cilicia and Crete can be ruled out to keep what is most likely, which is that Keftiu was Cyprus(37).

The language of Keftiu was the Linear A script which is not proved that it was used outside Crete nor outside the Cypriot-Minoan world, though it was known in Ugarit. It is also seen on some headstones from the fifteenth century on the tomb of Rekhmire in Luxor, understood to be made by the leaders of Keftiu from Aegean Sea, Syria and Palestine. This enhances the theory that Keftiu is Cyprus because the Cypriots' pictures in the sixteenth century appear in a Syrian-Palestinian style. It is quite likely that Cyprus had more than one name during the Bronze Age. The name 'Kyprios' is

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(37) John Strange, *Caphtor, Keftiu,* Leiden Brill, 1980 F.J. Vercoutter, *L'Egypte* et *Le Mond Egeen Prehelleni-que.* Le Caire: 1950, pp. 114ff, 369 ff.

mentioned in Creten and Mycenaean texts as a name of a person working in olive and wool trade.

3- The Settlement of the constituents of Cypriot Hellenism:

The Middle Bronze Age extends from 1800-1600 BC (or from 1900-1650 BC) and it is represented by several positions we shall refer to some of them here. For instance, in Agia Eirene some white vessels were found with paintings on them, in addition to some ritual statues as well as other works of sculpture. In Tomba Tou Skourou, near Morfu (2000-1650 BC), were discovered other relics among them were ostrich eggs. In Agia Paraskevi in the south east of Nicosia, there were tombs where some white painted pottery vessels were found. There were also some polished red vessels. In Tamassos and Phlamoudhi-Voumarin a temple was discovered over a hill.

Lapethos was then the capital of the western south region and a port for the trade of brass and pottery. In Kalopsidha, the capital of east Cyprus, a house consisting of ten rooms was found, eight of the rooms are square-shaped extending along the court. There, some white painted pottery was found as well as some unknown scripts.

In Agios Souzomenos and Nitovikla in the region of Karpass, a fortress belonging to the Middle Bronze Age was found. It is quadrangular in its architecture that belongs to the Syrian-Philistine – Anatolian style which disappeared with the end of the Middle Bronze Age. It came back, however, in the Late Bronze Age as more suitable for the defense against sea attacks and invasions.

In Palaeo Skoutella in Karpass there was also found heaps of rubble and dust over the tombs, a common custom in Syria and Palestine. In one of the tombs in Karmi Palaeolona, there was found an embossed sculpture that represents a human form with Egyptian infusion. In the South, there were not any fortifications, which suggests that peace was prevalent there in contrast to the troubles that disturbed the northern region.

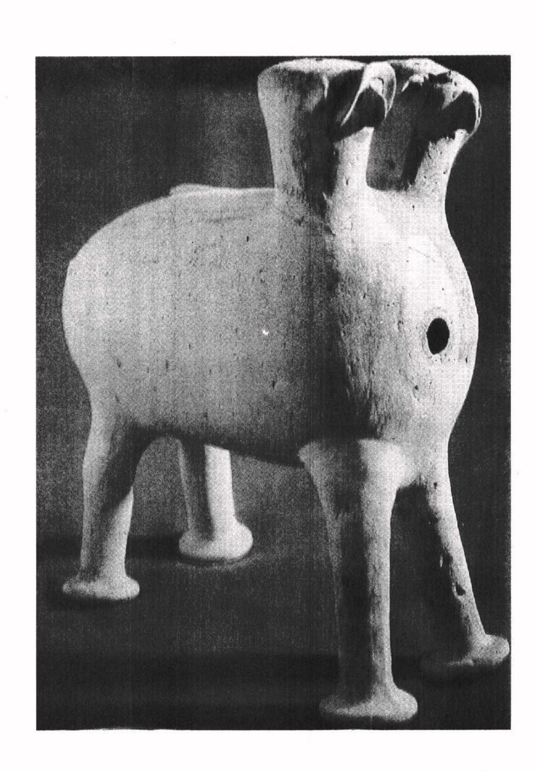


Fig. No. (21)

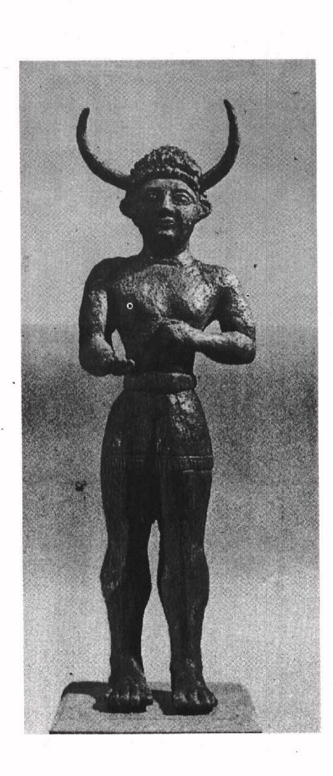


Fig. No. (22)

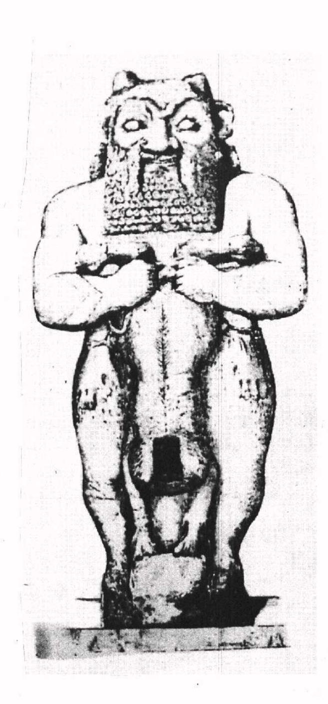


Fig. No. (23)



Fig. No. (24)

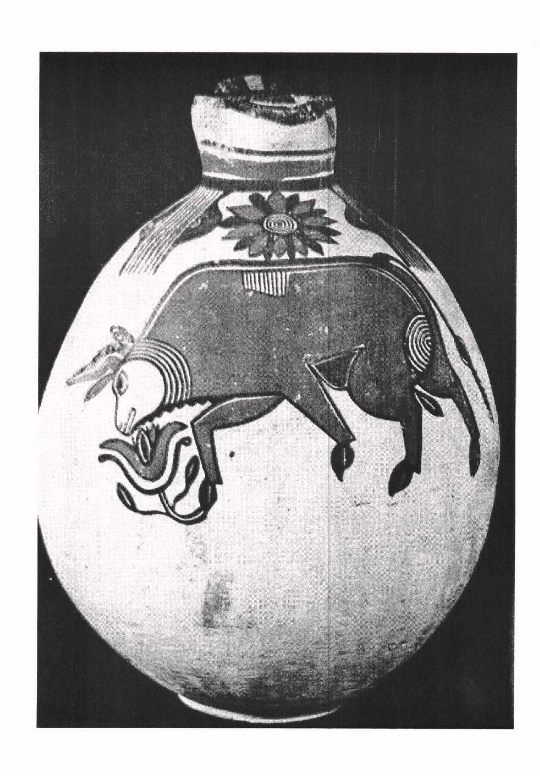


Fig. No. (25)



Fig. No. (26)

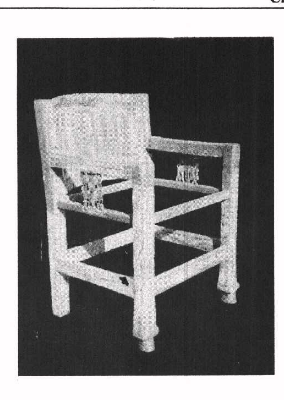


Fig. No. (27)



Fig. No. (28)

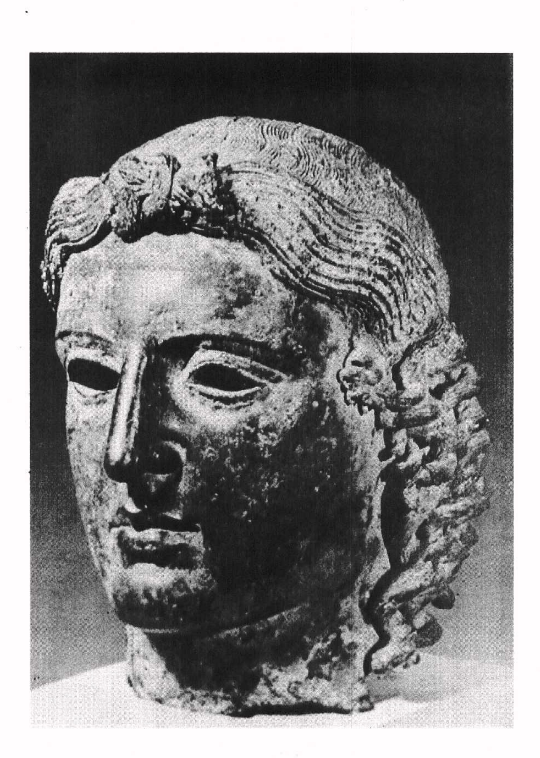


Fig. No. (29)

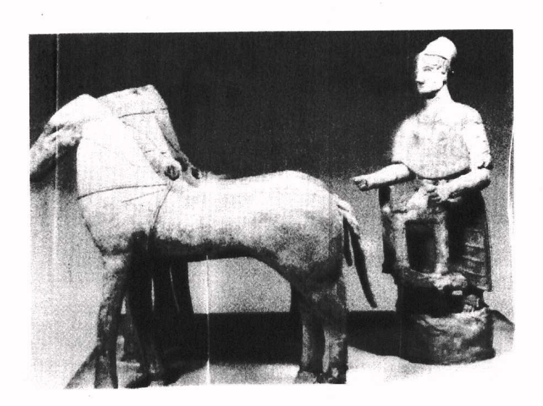


Fig. No. (30)

The discoveries of monuments in Dromolaxia (1375-119 BC) or (1325 – 1225 BC) confirm the Mycenaean presence in Cyprus as well as its close ties with Syria, Philistine and Egypt. A pottery vessel from Yehudi Tell was found which was imported from the Nile Delta. There, it was also found burnt red pottery from Syria and Philistine in addition to a Minoan Cretan pitcher.

One of the most important colonies in the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus was Maa near one of the gulfs in the area of Paphos. It is one of the earliest virgin strategic positions founded by the Achaeans who came from the Aegean Sea at the end of the thirteenth century BC. That happpened after the decline of the Mycenaean Kingdoms in Peloponnese. The monuments of Maa belong to 1200 BC or the last quarter of the thirteenth century when Enkomi was destroyed. There, a huge building was found. It was divided into two attached sectors and contained 43 small rooms. Archaeologists no longer believe it was a public utility building or a temple. Most likely, it was the ruler's residence or the place of the main personality amongst the people of Maa. The southern sector of the building was the dwelling unit, but the northern sector was an annex comprising the units that served the dwelling sector.

After the earthquake of 1075 BC, the inhabitants of Enkomi abandoned their city and started to establish Salamis. It is said that the person who founded the temple of Zeus in Salamis was Teucer son of Telamon, the king of Salamis, the Greek island. The temple was erected after the Trojan war and it became the main religious centre in the region until the Roman period. Though the legend concerning the foundation of the Cypriot Salamis might be an Athenian made up story during the classical period, nonetheless, it carries the germ of the historical truth represented in that invaders from the continental Greek lands and Anatolia reached Cyprus about 1200 BC and were known as "the Sea Peoples". It is particularly so since the legend mentions that Belos the king of Sidon helped Teucer in his invasion which aimed at occupying Salamis. In the middle of the eleventh century, the new city emerged, which had its cemetery outside the

walls. It was a superb port in which trade flourished and increased as indicated by the successive monumental discoveries[38].

There is no Greek legend concerning the foundation of Citium. After the destructive earthquake of 1075 BC, the city's temples remained active and full of life until 1025 BC. Its cemeteries were in use until 950 BC, as they were outside the city's wall from the western side. In the temple of Citium there were small statues for deities extending their arms above their heads. There, excavators also found plates and masks used during the rituals and were placed in *bothroi* next to the temple.

The Iron Age in Cyprus extends from 1050-700 BC, during which regular emigrations took place from the Peloponnesus peninsula and the Aegean Sea to Cyprus. At that time, the important centres of civilization were Salamis, Platani, Lapethos, Karavas, Arnadhi, Curium, Palaeo Paphos Scalis and kaloriziki. As art is concerned, this age is called a geometrical age as it left behind the most superb models in the civilization of Greek Cyprus from the beginning of the eighth century BC. It also represents a new age in the decoration of Cypriot vessels by employing the pictures of humans, animals, birds and fish. For example, there is an extant vessel called Hubbard amphoreus found in Platani and dated to the beginnings of 8th C.B.C. And in Kephalo Vrysso a small statue representing a bull in the form of a man and shouldering a saddlebag was found. There is another drawing that reminds us of Picasso's surrealistic style for it is a free geometrical design of a red bull smelling a lotus flower painted on a vessel from Arnadhi. All the findings of the artistic monuments that belong to this period are characterized by a freshness in style and a superb aesthetic quality that express a renewed civilization based on the use of iron which marks a technical revolution[39]. This industrial boom took place in 1050 BC, though it was preceded by some signs. Although the

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(38) Compare with the above.
(39) [Greek] IEE, vol. B, pp. 358-365.

beginnings were local and were revealed in making iron swords(40), yet the people who had come from the Aegean Sea were the ones who raised these local Cypriot beginnings into a true revolution in art.

Some of the most exquisite and superb findings of relics from the first Geometrical Age were what was found in Palaeo Paphos Scalis in its Mycenaean tombs that had multi burials in a quadrangular cell. Underground burial was the most common, though few cases of eremation took place. Some bronze and iron pins and some golden works as rings and earrings and such jewlery for women were found. Among the findings were a drawing representing a serpent on a geometrical white painted plate, and a Kalathos with drawings of "a lyre player", probably Orpheus.

It is noticed that the common trend in the second Cypriot Geometrical Age (950-850 BC) was the wedding or blending between what was Hellenic coming from outside and what was native Cypriot or local, which was a deeply-rooted tendency. The Cypriot exports reached Greece and went as far as the island of Euboea-Lefkandi and Athens – Kerameikos and Rhodes – Ialyssos and the twelve islands along the coast of Asia Minor in general. It also reached Crete where three Cypriot tripods and a bronze vessel that goes back to the tenth century decorated with Phoenician inscription engraved in Knossos were found. A similar vessel was found in Athens Kerameikos associated with the worship of Aphrodite – Astarte and goes back to the ninth century BC.

All that means that Cyprus started a new phase in its history. It was no longer a country mimic what consuming was imported, but it

(40) The long Cypriot sword known from the beginning of the Iron Age and common in the eighth century BC was certainly more modern than the Mycenaean sword. These swords were found in Scalis side by side with the short ones. One of the longest swords found in Cyprus was 79.7 cm in length, found in Idalion and dates back to the Geometrical Age. Another sword was found in Nicosia and its length was 80.8 cm. More recently, a 92 cm sword was found in Salamis and is dated to the sixth century BC. This latter sword is a distinguished mark in the history of sword-making as far as its length, thickness and weight are concerned.

started having its contributions and creativities exported to other countries, in the framework of the east Meditarranean, the Aegean Sea and the Hellenic world in particular. For along with its close ties with the Aegean Sea and the Hellenic world, Cyprus had relations with the Near East. These ties are reflected on Aegean places like Euboea-Lefkandi. There were also Cypriot influences on pottery industries in the Protogeometrical Age in each of Athens and Euboea, but these influences carry the flavour of the eastern Mediterranean basin. The Cypriot products were perhaps carried by merchants of the area or from Euboea who were visiting Cyprus and frequenting the Near East. They were the people who later on established the colony of Poseideion, i.e. the harbour, which is called now Al Mina Al Bida and its suburb Saboni in Syria. These trade exchanges comprised copper and iron products including iron swords which were exported to Greece.

The huge long sword found in Nicosia reflects the great evolution that took place between 776-700 BC in the Hellenic world and the Aegean Sea. All such evolutions were raised to the level of revelation that included - on the cultural and literary levels -the adoption of the Phoenician alphabets, the increase of the population, the increase in the habitation movement, the establishment of new cities and new colonies in Asia Minor, the south of Italy and Sicily, and the spread of the system of the city-state (Polis) in the Mediterranean world. An upheaval occurred in industry, and the temples and the national Hellenic festivals prevailed, as for instance the Olympic games which started in 776 BC. It is most likely that Homer lived at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the eighth BC[41].

Epic poetry flourished in Cyprus during the Archaic[42]. Age, as was the case in ancient Greece. Cyprus, for instance, as several ancient Greek islands and cities claimed, was Homer's native country. That was because Stasinos (or Hegessias or Hegessinos) was known and accepted as the author of the Cypriot epic, '*Kypria*', after the period of

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(41) [Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Ancient Greek Literature: A Human and Universal Legacy*, 3rd ed., Cairo 2001, pp. 27-107.

(42) The archaic Age is a name used by some historians to refer to a period of ancient Greek history approximately between the ninth to the seventh centuries BC.

Homer. It is considered an introduction to Homer's *Iliad*, and is prevailed by a certain tone that suggests that everything in the universe has a certain aim. It is an allegorical and ethical epic. Stories spread that Stasinos was Homer's son-in-law who was granted the "*Kypria*" (as a wedding gift, as the ancient Greek custom until now in modern Greece and Cyprus), it is the girl who grants the wedding gift or dowry for her groom and it is called "dotta".

The "*Kypria*" or *Ta Kypria epe* comprises eleven books or parts and deals with the preliminary stages of the Trojan war, i.e. the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, the judgment of Paris when Eris threw the apple on which was written "for the most beautiful". Paris had to choose between Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. He chose Aphrodite, then he abducted Helena which led to the eruption of the Trojan War. The epic comes to an end at the events where the *Iliad* starts. The Cypriot epic, *Ta Kypria Epe,* was known and familiar to each of Herodotus, Euripides, Plato, Aristotle and others. In 1979, Xuda Christou wrote her Ph.D. in the University of Athens on the Cypriot epic (*Takypriaepe*), and published with comprehensive commentary the remaining fragments.

The father of history, Herodotus, defended the attribution of the epic "*Takypriaepe*" to Homer himself, therefore, we cannot entirely exclude this theory when there is an agreement concerning the existence of Homer himself and attributing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to him(43). *Ta Kypria epe*, "*The Cypriot epics*", could be one of the poems sung during religious festivals in the temples of Aphrodite-Astarte, called in ancient classic Greek literature "Kypris", in Citium, Salamis and Paphos. As to the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos, it dates back to about 1200 BC. It was known to Homer – (in the ninth or the eighth century BC) – who was describing the community of that time in his epic, i.e. the Achaean or Mycenaean community.

As to Cypriot Salamis, it was a city protected by the Goddess Aphrodite, who was mentioned in the tenth Homeric hymn. In the

(43) [Greek] Xuda Christou, *passim*. Cf. Herodot, II 117. See also Ahmed Etman, *Ancient Greek Literature*, pp. 17-29.

sixth hymn, it is mentioned that Aphrodite was born in Cyprus, a legend that prevailed in ancient Greek and Latin literature and entirely established. Some critics consider *The Homeric Hymns* to be composed after Homer's time to be used as preludes (*prooimia*) for reciting long Homeric epics. Fragments of the Homeric hymn, "To Aphrodite", were found in Soloi[44] which suggests that these hymns were composed and recited in Cyprus during the festivals, feasts and games before the appearance of the "Cycles of epics", *Kyklos epikos*, in which the "*Takypriaepe*" was included[45].

The assumption in the seventh century BC is that the singing of the epic was started by the Cypriot singing poet, Euklos. Its content is that Homer was born in Cyprus and in Salamis to be exact. His mother was a simple peasant called Themisto. Whether this assumption was true or false, it depicts the general Homeric atmosphere surrounding life in the Cypriot City Salamis. It also clearly reflects that the Greek Cypriots were proud of their Greek origin and that they were an integral part of the Hellenic world since an early age. However, the Greek knowledgeable writer, Kyriakos Hatzioannou, denies in a detailed research that Homer came from Salamis or from any part of Cyprus[46].

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ ἕνα ποιοῦσι καὶ περὶ ἕνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν πολυ-
1459 b *μερῆ, οἷον ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας μία τραγῳδία ποιεῖται ἑκατέρας ἢ δύο μόναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλαὶ*

"...the authors, for example, of the Cypria and the Little Iliad. The result is that out of an Iliad or an Odyssey only one tragedy can be made, or two at most, whereas several have been made out of the Cypria"

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(44) SEC III, pp. 627 ff
CF. Zeithchr, für papyrolog. V. Epigr. IV 2 (1969) pp. 94-100.
(45) Ahmed Etman, *Ancient Greek Literature*, pp. 82-85.
(46) [Greek] Hatzioannou, vol. III, *passim*.

This is an important remark that came in Aristotle's *Ars Poetica* (C 23. 1459 b) which asserts that the "*Takypria*" epic was an important source for Greek tragedy, i.e. the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and others. For such poets as well as Tyrtaeus, Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides and other writers Cyprus was a Greek country in everything; in politics; language, literature and culture(47).

Modern excavations have discovered in Scalis, the city of the dead, in the east south of Paleo Paphos, a number of tombs that go back to the middle of the eleventh century BC. These are tombs concerning Achaean aristocrats who had migrated to Cyprus after the Dorian invasion of Greece circa 1100 BC. In these tombs were found pottery vessels which were painted and uncommon in their shapes. There were also bronze vessels some of which belong to a style that appeared in Cyprus for the first time. Iron swords were also found and they belong to a style that appeared in Greece during the first Geometrical Age. Some of these swords were made of Bronze and their shapes are common in the region of the Aegean Sea. Some others are silver. Iron clips were also found. In addition, the Cypriot archaeologists found inscriptions engraved on a bronze arrow (*obelos*)

(47) [Arabic] Ahmed Etman, Ancient Greek Literature, pp. 224-228, 264-269, 302-305. The author gives a list of the sources of every Greek tragic work. We gather that Aeschylus was inspired by "Ta Kypria epe" in four plays "Iphigeneia", "Mysoi", "Palamedes" and "*Telephos*"; Sophocles in fifteen plays; ("Alexandros", "Achaion syllogos e Syndeipnoi Satyroi", "Achilleos Erastai Satyroi", "Helenes Apaitesis", "Helenes Gamos Satyrikos", "Iphigeneia", "Krisis Satyrike", "Mysoi", "Nauplios Katapleon", "Odysseus mainomenos", "Palamedes", "Poimenes", "Skyrioi", "Telephos Satyrikos", "Troilos") and Euripides in six plays ("Alexandros", "Iphigeneia en Aulidi", "Palamedes", "Protesilaos", "Skyrioi", "Telephos").

As to the Cypriot language, its origin and its relation to the ancient Greek language used in continental Greek territories, see:

[Greek] Hatzioannou, Vol. Part B, *passim*.

[Greek] Iankoullis (Nicosia 1990) *passim*

Moreover, there is a project to collect the Cypriot language in a comprehensible Thesaurus entitled:

"Thesaurus Linguae Cypriae Graecae", *Cyprus today* xxxii, No.182 (January-June 1994) pp.16-17.

bearing the signs of syllabic Cypriot paleophic script. The word is the Arcadian genitive of the Greek proper name Οφελτης. A similar design was found in Knossos written in Linear B script. The most important thing is that the Cypriot–Arcadian was more developed than the Mycenaean, and that was the first inscription that indicates the presence of Greek language in Cyprus. If we put all these given monuments together with the legend of the foundation of Paphos by the leader of the Arcadians, Agapenor, in the Trojan War, as well as the story of Pausanias that there was in Tegea, the home of Agapenor in Peloponnesus, the temple of "Aphrodite Paphia", we could understand what Homer mentioned in the *Odyssey* (IX 362-363) and associated it with the temple discovered in Paleo Paphos which had been established for Aphrodite circa 1200 BC. There is a story the sum of which is that Agapenor's daughter, called Laodiki, sent a *peplos* (a cap) from Paphos to the temple of the goddess Athena in Alea in Tegea, her native country.

The first huge temple erecrted for Aphrodite in Paleo Paphos – in Kouklia to be exact – goes back then to about 1200 BC. Though this important and rare monumental building had been ruined and destroyed when the Lusignan ruler built on its ruins a refinery for sugar cane during the fifteenth century AD, we can still follow the history of that temple and its development since its erection until the Roman period. It could also have been restored and rebuilt. The architectural design of this temple is the triangular one common in Cyprus since the Neolithic Age, and could be compared with temple number 1 in Citium. It was constructed of square blocks of soapstone (*ashlar*), and had quadrangular columns with head stones as found in Citium. Hornes of animals that seem to have been given as offerings were found in the temple. Here we remember what Ovid said in his *Metamorphoses* and in narrating the legend of Pygmalion describing the rituals of offerings in the temple of Aphrodite Paphia:

Tum vero Paphius plenissima concipit heros
verba, quibus Veneri grates agat, oraque tandem
ore suo non falsa premit, dataque oscula virgo

sensit et erubuit, timidumque ad lumina lumen.
attollens pariter cum caelo vidit amantem.
Pygmalion went to share the city people
This happy occasion;
And there he witnessed amazing things,
Inlaid with gold the twisted horned,
Such young cows
As white as snow, had their throats cut
And fell for the goddess (Aphrodite + Venus) as offerings
The smoke of the incense rose, and Pygmalion performed the prayers
At the Altar of Venus (in Paphos) (48).

(*Ovidius, Metamorphoses*, X 290 - 294)

In the temple of Astarte discovered in Tamassos, one of the two altars was devoted to the mother goddess, Kybele. In Citium, people worshipped Esmoun, Melqart, Reshef and Mikal-Baal side by side with Aphrodite (Astarte), Athena (Anat), and Hercules (Melqart). Moreover, the Olympus gods were worshipped in Cyprus and each one of them was associated with Salamis, Marion, Chytroi, Golgoi, and Citium. In the latter city in particular, "Zeus Keraunios" was worshipped. As to Hera, she was associated with Paleo Paphos, Amathos, and Idalion. Artemis was associated with Paphos and Citium as she was worshipped as a goddess protecting the coast, Artenus Paralia. Thus, we find Apollo worshipped in Curium as Hylates, i.e. "the forests' protector", and in Pyla as Mageirios and Lakeutas, i.e. the diviner. Goddess Athena was worshipped in Kakopetria, Mersinaki, Idalion, Vouni-aepeia and Soloi. As to Aphrodite, apart from what we have already mentioned, she was also worshiped in Anassa, in Amathos under the title Kypria, and in Citium with title *Keraunia*, i.e. of the thunderbolt.

(48) [Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Latin Literature and its Cultural Role up till the Golden Age*, Cairo: Dar Al-Maaref, 1995, pp. 321-326.
——————, *Classical Sources of the Theatre of Tawfik El –Hakim: A comparative study*. The Egyptian Universal Organization for Publishing, Longman 2nd ed., 1993, pp. 1-32.

Furthermore, there is a divine power for fertility in the shape of a male made concrete by terracotta in the form of a male's organ (*Phallos*) with female figures depicted around. That god was worshipped in the region of Limassol-Komissariato circa 500 BC. Its origin could go back to the Late Bronze Age. There is also a temple for Hercules – Melqart, as understood from a piece of relic, favissa, that belongs to the second Archaean Age containing small statues from Kazavani one of which is for Astarte. From the sixth and the fifth centuries, several stone statues were found representing a female holding a pigeon or a kind of a fruit. These statues suggest the influence of the Kore statues of Greek sculpture. They were found outside Salamis and must have had an association with Aphrodite. There are two pottery statues in the temple of Idalion in which we see a depiction of Astarte, "the sacred whore", which is a subject present in the Assyrian religion. Herodotus (II 99) referred to it, therefore, the two columns in the shape of a lotus flower could refer to the Egyptian influence.

4- The Assyrians and the Phoenicians in Cyprus:

The positive role played by the Phoenicians in Cyprus is obvious in religious buildings, that is the huge temples, specially in Citium. This is perhaps visible in the perceptible eastern elements in Citium and Alasia-Enkomi, which were prevalent in the history of Cyprus even before the Phoenician period. The temple of Citium number 1, which is triangular in its architecture, had become obsolete and was abandoned, but only its dimensions and court were kept in the temple of Astarte being erected on the ruins of that same temple. The temple of Astarte had two porticos for its entrance, their roofs were supported by twenty eight wooden columns divided on four lines. Each portico has fourteen columns set on hollow stone bases. No substantial changes took place in the sacred place since its erection as an ancient temple. The two square stone columns on the two sides of the entrance are still there. This temple and its columns are compared with the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, which is built by engineers from Tyre, as in the case of the temple of Astarte. What is observed about this temple is

keeping the Cretan style of a goddess raising her hands. It is a style which has remained in Citium since the eleventh century BC. That was how Astarte- Aphrodite appeared even under the shadow of the Phoenician presence.

In addition to the above, in Paphos Astarte and Aphrodite were considered two faces for a coin since the establishing of a small temple there circa 1200 BC. In Paphos and Citium, as in Syria, Astarte was worshipped through rituals similar to those appropriates to Aphrodite, including the presence of bakers, barbers, and prostitutes in the temple. That brings together Phoenician inhabitants, native Cypriots, and Mycenaean Cypriots and puts these different cultures in their historical and geographical context, that is the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Greek Aegean Sea. Copper industry had connected between Phoenician Citium and Tamassos, the main centre for this industry. Consequently, a cultural and religious blending took place. In the old sources it was mentioned that it was a Phoenician who was living in Tamassos who set out on a journey to Citium to give his offerings to Astarte one day before the eighth century BC.

The royal tomb in Salamis number 1 (the eighth century BC) had a hall, its front is made of square soapstone blocks, and a cornice that has the Egyptian style. Some Greek and local pottery vessels, some plates and wineglasses (*skyphoi*) were also found. They all could be part of a wedding gift for one of the Greek princesses. As to the princess herself, her skeleton indicates that she was cremated after death. According to the ancient Greek custom, her ashes were put in a bronze urn along with her gold necklace. In Salamis as well, the tombs number 3 and 79, as in the tombs of Tamassos, the features of the architectural Anatolian influence are manifest along with the distinguished Homeric features in the rituals of burial as the giving of a horse as an offering, in addition to many other gifts. Among the three luxurious seats or thrones and the bed in tomb number 79, there is the silverplated seat which is mentioned in the *Odyssey* (VII 162). There is another seat with a back inlaid with ivory with engravings of the figure of the Sphinx and the lotus flower on its two sides. It resembles

Penelope's seat in the *Odyssey*, which bears some Eastern features. The bed has some parts made of ivory decorated with Egyptian drawings and some words in Hieroglyphs. This suggests the prevalence of the Egyptian-Phoenician style. These products could have been made by Phoenician artists living in Syrian coastal cities and selling their products in Greece, Cyprus, and the Near East. Among the offerings given in tomb number 79, we find some cosmetics hung on the two sides of horses heads, among them the winged Sphinx and the lion. In the same tomb a huge bronze kettle decorated with the image of a supernatural animal, half eagle and half lion and the depiction of Seirenes(49).

In the tomb number 3 in Salamis, a vessel was found bearing some inscription and it mentions the ritual of "olive oil vessel", as mentioned in the narration of the burning pyre prepared for Patroclus in the *Iliad* (23, lines 171ff). In tomb number 2, there were some human remnants that indicate giving human beings as offerings to the gods, which reminds us once again of the burning pyre of Patroclus. On an amphora that dates to about 700 BC and discovered in one of the tombs in Salamis, there is an inscription in ancient Greek alphabets. This is one of the oldest illustrations in Cyprus concerning the Greek alphabets along with another inscription from Marion.

When the Phoenicians touched the land of Cyprus in the ninth century or the beginning of the eighth century BC, the Island was totally hellenized in all aspects, though the local Cypriot element was the more apparent and the stranger even in the general framework of the Hellenic character. Citium was the first and strongest cultural and commercial Phoenician centre on the Island. With this pure Cypriot name the city had been known, it was even used for the whole Island in the same way the name "Kittim" had been used for Cyprus in old testament while it was the name of some nearby islands as well as a

(49) The "Seirenes" are mythical creatures that have the heads of women and the bodies of birds. They used to attract sailors with their charming singing and captivating voice and then kill them.

city in Macedonia. Kittim also meant ancient Greek cities, while Citium meant "the ancient Greek city". In the Third Geometrical Age (850 BC) the Phoenician habitation of Citium started. This is illustrated by temples built for Astarte, Melqart, i.e. Aphrodite, and Hercules respectively. These temples were built circa 850 BC on the ruins of the temples of the Late Bronze Age in the city centre which had been abandoned circa 1000 BC. The Phoenicians might have used Citium as a trade and industrial centre before the year 850 BC, but after that year it became affiliated to the king of Tyre. This Phoenician city contributed in enhancing the trade relations between Phoenicia and the Hellenistic world. The official name of Citium in the Phoenician language is Qarthadast, i.e. "the new city", as indicated by literary and archeological sources. The Phoenician language became the official language of the city after the year 850 BC .

The Archaic Age in Cyprus extended from 750 (or 725) to 475 BC the first phase of it started from 750 (or 725) and ended in 600 BC. The monuments discovered from that time indicate that it was a period of progress, flourishing and welfare in spite of the Phoenician control of Citium and the penetration of the Phoenician power in the fields of economy and culture all over the Island. It was accompanied by the increase of the dependence of those Phoenicians settling in Citium on their founding mother city, Tyre. This is obvious in the inscription on two bronze vessels found in Mouti Sinoas in the area of copper mines in the north-east of Amathos, where on one of them there is the answer of "the ruler of Qarthadast, Hiram II's servant, from Tyre, the King of the people of Sidon to Baal Lebanon, his master".

Hiram II, the king of the people of Sidon – i.e. the Phoenicians – was known to have paid the tribute in the year 718 BC to the king of the Assyrians, Tiglatpileser III (745 – 727 BC). This indicates the dependence of the Phoenicians in Citium in a direct or an indirect way on the Assyrians whose increasing depression was behind the migration of a large number of Phoenicians to the south of Cyprus in the middle of the ninth century BC, which was a heavy blow to the fleets of the Phoenician cities at the beginning of the eighth century

until the middle of the seventh BC.

Though the above inscription found on the vessel was addressed to the god *Baal*, it could be the Phoenician name of Zeus Labranios, the Cypriot god to whom a worship was set in Phassaulla which is near Mouti Sinoas that could have a close connections with Zeus Labraundos and his famous temple in Caria. The dependence of the Phoenicians in Citium on Tyre was perhaps the reason behind the appearance of the Cypriot marine hegemony over the surrounding power of the Mediterranean, as indicated by Eusebius[50]. This Cypriot hegemony reached its apex in 742 or 732 – 709 BC, that is after the submission of Phoenicia to King Tiglatpileser III which was after his victory at war against the united Aramian states. That gave an opportunity to the Cypriots who were opposed to the Phoenicians to express their opinion frankly. The Phoenicians exploited the abundance of wood in Cyprus to build their ships which enabled them to control the Mediterranean trade until they reached Spain where they were accompanied by the Cypriots. This is indicated by the presence of Cypriot products there.

All that did not abate the strength of competition between the Cypriots and the Phoenicians, specially after the former regained their power and defeated the Phoenician marine force about 741/740 BC. In the same manner, the Phoenicians made use of the involvement of the Assyrians in wars with Babylon and Elam, when the country was under the rule of Sennacherib (705-681 BC), in order to tighten their control over Citium once more and take it from its people, the Cypriots and the Greeks whose rebel in 707 BC had been interpreted as a kind of a declaration of the submission of Citium-Qarthadast and the rest of Cyprus to Sargon II (722-705 BC), the Assyrian king. This seems to have happened after Sidon had been besieged and fell into the hands of Essarhaddon and the submission of Tyre to Ashurbanipal (668 BC).

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(50) [Greek] Hatzioannou, vol. A, pp. 30-71.

The disparity of the Cypriot and Assyrian interests was the reason that led the latter to occupy Cyprus in 705 BC. After occupying Syria and Kilikia in 720 BC, it was the turn of Cyprus. However, the Cypriot-Greek trade in Al Mina in the north of Syria was not negatively affected by the Assyrian occupation. In contrast to what was expected, the international trade flourished which gave Cyprus an increasing importance as the naval fulcrum point of the outbreak of trade from Al Mina. The Cypriot presence was focalised in the Syrian port as revealed in the decoration of the Cypriot vessels, drinking cups discovered there which represent co-operation and fusion between the Greeks of the Near East and the Cypriots on the one hand, and the Greeks of the Aegean Sea who benefited from the experience of eastern Cyprus to penetrate into the Near East from the Island itself, on the other. The Cypriot pottery did not cease from Al Mina except for a short time at the beginning of the seventh century BC, which was due to the rebellion of Tarsus in 696 BC

There is a remarkable difference between the Phoenician and the Greek occupation of Cyprus. The Greeks in Cyprus established small states or city–states, while the Phoenicians established a coastal colony, not independent but subordinated to the founding mother-city, Tyre. The new Greek small city–states in Cyprus were traditionally and culturally following the mother-cities in the continental Greek lands, and perhaps carried their names and had the feeling of belonging. However, these ties were not raised to the standard of political subordination as was the case with Citium, for instance, which was indebted towards Phoenician Tyre. In Phoenician Citium the Greek-Cypriots were still enjoying their vivacity and practising all their activities and they used the original name, Citium, not the Phoenician name, Qarthadast. In 707 BC when the Cypriot kings submitted to king Ashur Sargon II (722 – 705 BC) and paid him the tribute, Citium had to follow the coloniser, so it turned into a kingdom.

Under the rule of the son of Sargon II, i.e. Sennacherib, Elulaios the Tyrean, made use of the Assyrian war against Babylon and Elam and re-occupied Citium – Qarthadast and restored the Phoenician rule

there for a period of time. When Sennacherib besieged the city of Tyre, Elulaios joined the opposition of a Palestinian coalition (701 BC) in an alliance and fled to Cyprus where he died about 694 BC. Sennacherib used the Cypriot and Tyrean sailors along with the sailors of Sidon to accomplish his works on the river Tigris. In an inscription from the reign of Essarhaddon that goes back to 673/372 BC, we find a list of the Hittitean lands and properties overseas. They are the countries that fell under the power of the Hittites and were forced to pay tributes. They include the Cypriot kingdoms. The following kingdoms are mentioned in the inscription:

Edia'l	=	Idalion
Kitrusi	=	Chytroi
Sillua	=	Soloi (Salamis?)
Pappa	=	Paphos
Sillu	=	Salamis? Soloi?
Kuri	=	Curium
Tamesu	=	Kourion = Tamassos
Qarthadast	=	Citium
Lidir	=	Lefkosia[51]

Therefore, it is certain that Citium in 673/672 BC was under the rule of the Assyrians, and in 671 BC its Phoenician king, Baal, joined an alliance with the Pharoanic king, Tirhakah, as well as the Syrian-Palestineans against Essarhaddon who defeated them. The defeated Baal however, rebelled twice against the Assyrians. In addition, two consecutive revolts were raised, against Ashurbanipal who placed the kingdom of Qarthadast (Citium) among the states under his submission in 667 BC. However, there is nothing to prove the restoration of the Tyrean-Phoenician rule in Citium by Baal. After Ashurbanipal, there is nothing mentioned in the various sources about Cypriot Qarthadast as the official inscriptions from the fifth and fourth centuries BC found in Citium use this same name and nothing else.

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(51) Kyrris, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

When the conflict increased between the Assyrians and the Greek-Cypriots as well as their fellowmen in the continental Greek lands and in the islands of the Aegean Sea, another chance was given to realise the Phoenician ambitions and aspirations towards marine sovereignty in the region. This came after the rebellion of the Greeks of Tarsus and Anchiale in Kilikia (the Assyrian state 720 BC) along with the Assyrian ruler in Kilikia in 696 BC Sennacherib was able to put an end to the revolt and his marine forces were engaged then in a battle with the Ionians. Thus, enmity broke out between the Greeks in general and the Cypriot Greeks in particular on one hand, whole on the . other there were the Assyrians. The latter came to the final conclusin that there was no loyalty to the Greeks as Sargon II had razed out a revolt of a Greek-Cypriot who sàt on the throne of Philistine Ashdod as a king by a Hittitean arrangement. His name was Yamani.

After centuries of illiteracy in writing that followed the breakdownof Mycenaean civilization and the disappearance of Linear B script since the Geometrical and Archaic Ages, the Greeks adopted a new script. They spread towards the West and developed their mathematical and cosmological knowledge in addition to the other branches of knowledge. The industrial and metallurgical professions developed. All that was due to the inspiration of the Near East culture. In the meantime, the Homeric epics had taken their final form and played a limitless role in tinging the Greek culture with a distinguished colour. These achievements based on borrowing from the East reached perfection – as Plato says (*Epinomis* 987d) when these influences nurtured what had been previously absorbed and digested by the Greeks who settled in Ionia and the south – east of the Aegean Sea from the beginning of the Geometrical Age, the triangle Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, in particular. The Greek alphabet could have been born in the Syrian Al Mina or in any Greek – Phoenician coalitional region as Rhodes, Crete or Cyprus. The latter cannot be excluded since it had been a meeting place for trade and cultural exchange for centuries. At least since the ninth century Cyprus had been the main bridge for the crossing of the Eastern thoughts to the Hellenic world. It is plausible to

imagine the Phoenician alphabet transported from the Syrian coast across Cyprus and Rhodes. Cyprus must have played a principal role in transporting the Phoenician alphabet to the Greeks, particularly when a Phoenician colony was set in Cyprus and had close relations with Phoenicia as well as with the Greeks.

Since the thirteenth century BC, the merchandise, the products, the thoughts and the artistic and cultural works were crossing between the Phoenician coast, the islands of the Aegean Sea, and the Greek lands across Cyprus. Therefore, why should we exclude the alphabet?

Rhys Carpenter says that the construction of ancient Greek alphabet was supported and strengthened by the help of a syllabic alphabet, whether it was local Cypriot or otherwise. What is important is that it provided what was deficient in the Phoenician alphabet, particularly in the five vowels used in the Cypriot syllabic alphabetical script. Briefly speaking, Cyprus is strongly assigned to be the place where the Greeks succeeded to adopt the Phoenician alphabet. This process represents a principal turning point in the direction of Greek civilization, and a remarkable feature of the features of creativity and genius. Cyprus then was the place of cultural marriage between Phoenicia and the ancient Greeks, or between the East and the West. It is an Island which is bilingual, twin cultured and perhaps mixed in genealogy, therefore it is fit to be the meeting place or the mixing pot that blends and melts all cultural elements, the Eastern and the Western. Cyprus is more likely to have the honour of a new birth due to the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet on the hands of the Greek settlers in Cyprus who were neighbouring the Phoenicians, sharing with them an oral tradition of hymns and songs, then sharing with them the art of writing(52).

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(52) Rhys Carpenter, "The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet", AJA xxvii (1933), pp. 8-29.
Idem, "The Greek Alphabet Again", AJA XLII (1938, pp. 58-69.
E.A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece*, 1982. The most probable point of entry of the Semitic prototype into the Greek world in Rhodes, whose geographical position exposed it to the oncoming wave of Assyro-Oriental influence brought by the Phoenician westward expansion during the eighth =

5- Cyprus and Egypt (7-6 Centuries BC)

Relations between Cyprus and Egypt have started since pre-historic times and have extended without break throughout the ages. In addition to what is already mentioned in separate places, we continue the discourse about such relations in the documented historical epochs.

After the downfall of the Assyrian Empire (669 BC) and until the Egyptian king Amasis (Ahmose II) imposed his power over the Island (570 BC), Cyprus had been enjoying total independence for a whole century. Trade flourished during that century; small stone statues were exported from Cyprus to various neighbouring countries, specially the Aegean Sea islands, Naukratis, in Egypt and Rhodes. This was the image of Cyprus at the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth centuries BC projected as a Greek power in the east the Mediterranean. The small Cypriot statues found in Naukratis stress the main featares of the Cypriots. Some of those Cypriot products were made of material not available in Cyprus as the alabaster and the sandstone, which means that some Greek Cypriots were staying in Naukratis.

The Cypriot role in the Greek-Egyptian trade exchange during the seventh and the sixth centuries BC surpassed that of the Phoenicians. Therefore, the Egyptianised Cypriot style in sculpture

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= century. Cyprus was exposed to this influence first; but the Cypriot Greeks were immune as far as the alphabet was concerned, because they still preserved their ancient Achaean mode of writing. In Rhodes, the Cypriot and Phoenician contact during the second half of the eighth century is familiar to all archaeologists: it is only natural that the Phoenician art of writing should form a part of this inheritance.

For the latest written on the subject, see:

J.T. Hooker, "Linear B as A Source for Social History", in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World*, London – New York: Routledge, 1995, pp. 7-43.

Compare with:

[Arabic] Abd El-Latif A. Ali, *Greek History: The Helladic Age*, vol. II, Beirut: Dar–el–Nahda, 1974, pp. 769-776.

was developed. Its most remarkable features are the large concrete and intensified features, the protruding eyes, the long noses, and the closed mouth with its thick lips. These statues and their like were made in Cyprus and exported to various places in the Greek lands as Lyndos, Kameiros, Vroullia and others in Rhodes, and to Paros, Samos, Chios, Mylos and others. Out of 180 relics found in Cyprus was a superb statue in the normal size for Timagoras (600-550 BC), made according to the Egyptian prototype known as Saitic, reference to Sais, but some alterations were added and so it became known as the New Oriental Cypriot style. It is a style that adopted the Egyptian artistic principals, but submitted them to a process of adaptation with the basic elements of the Greek art. There are some scholars who believe that the distinguished Greek statues, Kouroi, associated with the Greece in the sixth century BC, were created under the influence of the Egyptianised Cypriot style of the seventh century BC. It means that Cyprus preceded Greece in transferring that Egyptian style and in developing it. The Egyptian works of art prevailed in Cyprus and Rhodes, for the Phoenician craftsmen had established ceramic factories in Citium since the thirteenth century BC. It is worth noting that the Cypriot and the Greek artist had been careful to observe the aesthetic symmetry in their works, even if this was at the expense of the mathematical rules followed in the Egyptian art of sculpture.

Psammetichus felt he wanted to secure himself and take some precaution for treacherous time when the wheel of fortune would turn. He looked at the Delta that was full of Greeks and thought of making use of them. So, he expanded their market place in Naukratis, the Greek colony established by the people of Miletus in particular about 700 BC near Sais, as a commercial centre known as "Milesian Fort" and then was renamed as Naukratis. However, when Psammetichus ruled Egypt independently in 663 BC, he kept his throne in Sais and started a new age in the Pahraonic history. A new dynasty then was founded basing its rule on strong foundations and sat on the throne for more than a century until the advent of the Persians into Egypt in 525. BC. Psammetichus dynasty had perceived that good policy required the return of the country to its glorious past. So, in their organisation,

administration and the affairs of their beliefs and culture they followed their good predecessors of the rulers of the two Kingdoms, the Old and the Middle. The religious and artistic effects were soon and clearly noticed that some historians and writers believed that ruling Egypt, such dynasty was like an age of revival and resurrection. Most of them were deceived and thought the dynasty was a nationalist Egyptian one in flesh and blood and its policy was purely nationalist. However, the German historian, Ed. Meyer, drew the attention to that wrong assumption when he asserted that it was a foreign dynasty, its origin might go back to the advent of a noble family into Egypt, whose members spread into its provinces at the end of the Ramses reign.

It is obvious from the history and biography of this dynasty, according to Dr. Badawy, that they depended in their struggle and in their attempts to support their power and rule on foreign elements to Egypt. History tells us that as soon as matters in Egypt began to settle down under the rule of Psmmatichus than he started to reward his mercenary soldiers, mostly Greek, with whom he filled his court and made of them his personal soldiers and guards. He even went to the extent of making some of them the protectors of ports, defending them against raids and aggression. He exaggerated in his generosity towards them when he granted them the liberty to establish farms and commercial institutions in Sais, Naukratis and Abu Quir. When he wanted to safeguard his country, he set on its borders three groups of protectors. The first group was at the island of Philae and its soldiers were from the native inhabitants. The second and the third group were in the north, one at Dafna on the Suez, Gulf while the other was in Maria or Mariotis (Mariot). The soldiers in the two positions were Greek.

When Psammetichus passed away he was succeeded to the throne by Psammetichus II who was succeeded in turn by Apries. Both of them were biassed towards the Greeks, giving them their compassion and attention. However, the latter exaggerated in that to the extent that the hearts of his citizens were burned out of fury, so they set the fire of a fierce revolt led by one of the native adventurers

called Amasis. The revolt was only abated when that adventurous hero became the King of Egypt. He ruled jointly with Apries until the death of the latter in 568 BC, then Amasis had the throne of Egypt for himself. When he saw the citizens turning towards him and supporting him, he could not but look at the Greeks in Egypt with one of his eyes and listen to them with one of his ears. So, when their soldiers evacuated the ports he took the middle way towards them. He transported the protectors of Dafna to Manf and made of the Greek warriors his private guards just to be under his sight (Herodotus, Book III, 154). He then gathered the Greek civilians and put them in Naukratis (Ibid. p. 178). The reign of Amasis was like an awakening from death or a "resurrection" in the life of Egypt for it enjoyed a good period of prosperity. Its commerce flourished, its wealth increased, construction of temples became more active. Science and the arts witnessed a kind of a renaissance during this period, and people were reassured about their lives, so they started to enjoy the pleasures of life and reap of its good yield, the fruit of their toil during their long and bitter struggle. They never thought that fate was hiding for them and for their country the most detestable thing in life. The era of Amasis was very close to that of Amenophis III through which the Egyptians had passed through eight centuries before Amasis[53].

In fact, Amasis was, as depicted by Herodotus in the paragraph referred to above, a libertine fond of licentious promiscuous living as his far ancestor Amenophis III. However, he was a man of understanding and intelligence as well as a good politician, which enabled him to set an atmosphere full of comprehensive transparency and complete tranquillity. For though he was biassed towards his fellow citizens, he did not neglect the Greek people who stood by him, but he treated them kindly whether they were from the mercenaries in the army or working in trade. He went as far as cementing his ties with

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(53) [Arabic] Moh. Saqr Khafaga, *Herodotus Talks About Egypt*, Discourses trans. from Greek by Dr. Moh. Saqr Khafaga, introduced and interpreted by Dr. Ahmed Badawy, Cairo: Dar El-Qalam, 1966, pp. 5-57.
[Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Cleopatra and Antony: A Study in the Art of Plutarch, Shakespeare and Shawky*, 2nd ed., Cairo: Aegyptus, 1990, pp. 354-387.

those who had been living with him in (Kyrene Cyrene) that it was said that he went to them for an alliance in marriage as he married a Greek princess called Ladiki. However, as soon as he died, the bell announcing danger began to ring and the red eyes of evil started to cast their dangerous beams to warn of its quick approach to the eastern borders of Egypt.

The reason was that towards the east there was the Persian king, Kurash or Kyros, (559-529 BC) who no sooner had tasted victory over Lydia's king, Croesus (Qarun?), than he turned towards the east and ruined everything on his way of the Upper land of Asia with the aim of protecting his boundaries. When he was reassured about his boundaries, he kept thinking of turning to Babylon, which he did. He soon had control over it without a great effort and that was in 546 BC. Thus, he became lord and master of Asia without any contender and remained ten years enjoying this sovereignty before he passed away in 529 BC. He left behind as a successor on the throne, Cambyses, his son from Cassandani, daughter of Pharnaspis. Cambyses resumed his father's way, looked forward to reach Egypt and kept preparing for that for a long time. Amasis was not unaware then of what was going on in the East; on the contrary he was aware of Kurash's power and strength, gauging the consequences of his dangerous activity. He therefore hastened to conquer Cyprus and to make an alliance with Croesus, the king of Lydia. When the latter fell, Amasis hastened to make an alliance with Polycrates the tyrant of Samos (Herodotus Book III 39). Nevertheless that tyrant was forced, due to his fear of the Persians, to come under the leadership of Cambyses (546-545 BC) and declared his submission and loyalty at a time when Cambyses was preparing to attack Egypt.

Since the beginning of the sixth century BC, and as revealed by archeological discoveries, Cypriot products reached Naukratis – named Kom Gu'eifa now and lies next to Etai El-Barud in Buhaira in Egypt – a statue for goddess Aphrodite was found. It is believed to be an imported Cypriot product. Certainly, the Cypriots were among the foreigners and the mercenary Greeks in the Egyptian army during the

reign of King Psammetichus II (595 – 589 BC). The mercenary Greeks could have been the progeny of those who served in the same army under the reign of Psammetichus I (664 – 610 BC). Among the stone statues found in the site of Naukratis, we find a good number of them bearing the features of the art of the Oriental Greek world, that of Cyprus in particular. No doubt, some of them were made in Naukratis itself while others were imported from Cyprus.

The Cypriot Amathos was the link between Greece and Egypt. Therefore, the Greek ships used to anchor in Amathos on its way to Naukratis on the Nile Delta. The products of Chios, Rhodes, Corinth, and Athens passed from there. Some vessels were exported from Naukratis to Cyprus to be sold in Amathos, Salamis and Marion. This was accompanied by mutual influences in art and religion. Some Cypriot gifts and offerings reached the temple of Delphi, including bronze armours. At the end of the seventh century, Cypriot statues were sent to (Smyrna = Izmir) in Asia Minor, where the temple of goddess Athena was situated. In the mean time, Oriental and Greek products were found in the temples of the cities and villages of Cyprus as Agia Eirene, Minico, Limassol, Kazafani, Curium, Tamassos, Amathos and Citium. There are small clay statues donning the bull mask found next to the Kentauroi (Centauri) statues in Agia Eirene and are dated to 750-600 BC, which suggest the presence of a ritual play or sketch, there. In these rituals, the priests and worshippers offered their allegiance to the power of divine fertility inherited from the Late Bronze Age, characterized by its wild nature (theriamorphic). It seems there was a secret ritual sketch used to be performed there, as it happened in Egypt, a ritual that eventually produced the dithyramb and the Greek tragedy which started as competitions or competitive games that have a religious flavour and a dramatic atmosphere.

United Cyprus and Phoenicia faced the naval forces of the Egyptian King, Hofhra (Apries 588-570 BC), in a battle in which they failed, and that Egyptian victory paved the way to the King's successor, Amasis II (570-525 BC) to occupy Cyprus. Under the Egyptian occupation, the Cypriot kings kept their independence as

long as they paid the tribute to Amasis who gave gifts and offerings to the Cypriot temples, as stated by Diodorus Siculus (I: 68), and presented offerings as well to the Greek temples whether on the islands or the continental lands as the temple of Hera in Samos where he offered wooden statues representing himself, according to Herodotus (II: 182). No doubt, the conduct and manners of the Egyptian Pharaoh paved the way to the impact on the Cypriot and Greek art at that time. Although the impact was apparent before that date, yet it gave a new impetus and unprecedented dimensions, specially as this was accomplished through direct meetings and not through the Phoenicians and their arts as in previous periods. In tomb number 80 in Salamis, dated to the end of the sixth century, we find the inside walls forming a vault of square stone blocks decorated with the lotus flower. There, they also found statues for people dressed in the Egyptian Royal head-dress. There is also a statue of a man standing with his obvious African features carrying the Egyptian symbol *Ankh* found in Agia Eirene. In the temple of Apollo in Curium, they found inscription in both hieroglyphics and the Syllabic Cypriot language. The members of the divine Egyptian "pantheon" began to appear and spread in Cyprus, though god Bes had been there since the twelfth century BC.

6- Evagoras (Euagoras) The Hero Of Resistance Against The Persians

The Ionian war broke out in 499/498 BC and at once Cyprus (except for Amathos) was overwhelmed with a resistance to the Persian presence on the Island. When the Cypriots learned the news of the revolt of Caria in Asia Minor, and the news about burning Sardis, the Capital of Lydia and the arrival of the Ionian fleet to Caria, the Cypriot Greeks were filled with enthusiasm and courage. The people of Salamis were led by the brother of king Gorgos, called Onesilos, who took the opportunity of the absence of his brother and dethroned him. The dethroned king who was in allegiance with the Persians joined their lines, as happened repeatedly in Greek cities specially Athens. Onesilos was able to unite all the kings of Cyprus– except the

king of Amathos–and they all declared joining the Ionian Revolt. When Onesilos was besieging the city of Amathos, he got the news about the preparations of Darius in Kilikia to send an army led by Artybios, and also heard of the gathering of a Phoenician fleet to suppress the Cypriot revolt. Onesilos asked the Ionians for help. They arrived at the same time when that Persians were anchoring their ships at Karpass. The siege on Amathos was raised and a battle started near Salamis. While the Ionian fleet and the Cypriot army on land were victorious, and the leader of the invading Persian army was killed, the king of Curium, called Stasanor dissented and joined the Persian side with all his soldiers and weapons. The Ionian fleet went back to its bases, the Persians restored King Gorgos to the throne of Salamis with the agreement of its people, and Soloi remained resisting for five months until it was conquered.

Darius appointed city rulers from the *Persophiloi* (loving the Persian) families who gave their allegiance to the Persians, whether they were Greek or Phoenician. At that time, the coins used in Marion and Lapethos carried the images of Herucles – Melqart, Maathena – Anat, and Aphrodite-Astarte. The names of kings on the coins were struck in the Phoenician script. In Citium a Phoenician Persophilos family with a king called Baalmelek which means "the master king", was followed by Azbaal. However, after the Cypriot defeat in 498 BC at the hands of the Persians, the Phoenician Cypriots joined the side of the victorious and the occupier, i.e. the Persians, in a decisive way at the expense of their fellow citizens and their own country. In people's conscience, Onesilos became a national hero and a subject of respect even for the enemies. The Persians had hung his head at the city gates, but the oracle of Delphi commanded to bury the head and honour its burial ground. Thus, Cyprus was closer to the Greek lands in facing the invading Persians and their allied Phoenicians the benefitters behind the Persian occupation of the Island.

After the downfall of Croesus (Qarun?), the king of Sardis in 546 BC, the kings of Cyprus voluntarily offered their services and gave their allegiances to the King of Persia and helped him in his successful

campaign against Caria (545 BC), and Babylon (538 BC). In 525 BC, the Cypriots followed suit by following what the Ionians, the people of Samos and the Phoenicians had done before them. Therefore, they all gave assistance to Cambyses in his campaign against Egypt. As a recompense, Darius (521 – 485 BC) annexed Cyprus, Phoenicia, Syria, and Palestine to his empire in 521 BC. Cyprus enjoyed a degree of independence including minting a coin that bore the image of the Cypriot kings, who were allowed to follow a somewhat independent foreign policy. The King of Salamis, Euelthon, was in good relations with Pheretime, the Queen of Kyrene who tried in vain to get his military assistance to restore her son Arkesilas III (530 BC). This same king gave an incense pot to the Corinthian treasury in Delphi as a gift. Briefly speaking, in spite of the Persian occupation, Cyprus became more fused and integrated than before in the Greek world. Nonetheless, the emblems used for Euelthon's silver coin and its various weights in 538 BC were purely Oriental in nature as they had the Persian ram, the Egyptian *Ankh* and the inscription *Ky* reference to Kyprion. These coins could indicate the supremacy of Euelthon but not necessarily his mastery over all the kings of Cyprus. In the meantime, the Cypriot sculpture was purely Ionian in its style, which was either illustrated in the Cypriot statues, Korai, orcharacterized by Ionian smile and the Archaic clothes. There are also some statues that depict women with their jewelry, and the statue of Zeus holding the thunderbolt in Citium. The pottery vessels with black drawings were common on the Island since the middle of the sixth century BC.

The contradictions inherent in the cultural and political development in Cyprus under the Persian occupation ultimately led to the division of the inhabitants of the Island into two parties, one of them attached to the Persians, *Persophiloi*, and the other party attached to the Greeks, *Hellenophiloi*. As mentioned in Herodotus, the strongest reason for hating the Persians as far as the second party is concerned was that Darius turned the imposed gifts they had to pay into a fixed tribute to be paid to him (Herod. III 91). Soloi, Marion, Curium and Paleo Paphos were the most important Greek strongholds, whereas Citium, the Phoenician sanctuary, was not

apparently pro-Persian. It was not necessarily antagonistic to the Greek party, at least until after the Ionian Revolt of 499 BC. Only Amathos was ruled by a Greek dynasty who was openly in allegiance with the Persians. This reveals how political attitudes were not decided by racial factors. In Salamis, the Persophilos King Gorgos was following the policy of his predecessor, Euelthon; for certainly the establishment of a tight police system reflects the Persian influence. The similarity between autocratic Persian monarchy and the absolute power of the kings of Cyprus was quite apparent. With the exception of democratic Idalion, the idea was not strange to the rest of the Oriental states surrounding the Island, the Hittites and the Phoenicians in particular. Some democratic aspects might have been leaked out to Soloi due to Solon's visit, as this Athenian legislator was the guest of the King of Soloi, Philo-Kypros near the end of the Egyptian rule there. The widespread story, however, says that Philo-Kypros transported the city of Aepeia to a more suitable place for living and general health, i.e. Soloi, according to Solon's advice and on whose name the city was called after. However, this mythical story is doubtful because Soloi had been in the same place since the eleventh century BC. Soloi's coins (500 BC) depict images of Gorgons and Guttlefish as influences coming from Athens and Eretria.

The Cypriot fleet had to contribute by a hundred and fifty ships that shared in Xerxes's campaign of retaliation against Athens in 480 BC. This indicates that the kings of Cyprus retained their fleets even after the defeat of 498 BC, on the basis that it was a power added to the Persians and counted for them. Among those who led the Cypriot ships in Xerxes's campaign were princes and noblemen as Penthulos son of Demonoos from Paphos; Timonax son of Timagoras; Philaon son of Chersis and brother of Gorgos who witnessed the battle. The Egyptian fleet was also in the battle along with the Cypriot and Phoenician fleets. After the defeat of the Persians at Greek Salamis in 480 BC and at Mykale in 479, Cyprus was treated as a Greek territory under the Persian occupation. The Greeks took a resolution in Plataia to liberate Cyprus. In the spring of 478 BC, a joint Greek fleet reached Cyprus under the command of the King of Sparta, Pausanias, who was

victorious in Plataia, and with the leadership of the two Athenian commanders - in - chief, Aristeides and Kimon, the Cypriot cities which had surrendered to the Persians were liberated. However, as soon as the Greek fleet departed, the Persians regained their domination of the Island.

Citium, under the command of its king Baalmelek I, attacked Idalion at a time between 478 – 470 BC. A contract written on a bronze board between a physician and his brothers as a first party, and King Stasikypros and his people as a second party for the treatment of the wounded, disclosed this matter. In 470 BC, the son of Baalmelek, Azbaal, was able to occupy Idalion and eventually turn it into an ally for the Persians.

Cyprus was not a member in the Delian League led by Athens, yet it remained a scored goal for that league. In spite of the crushing defeat Kimon incurred upon the Persians on land and at sea at the mouth of Eurymedon in Asia opposite Cyprus, it was forced once more to send eighty five ships to help the Persians in Kilikia and they were destroyed by Kimon in 469/468 BC. And in 459/458 BC, the Athenians and allies sent a fleet composed of two hundred ships to Cyprus and Phoenicia under the command of Charitimedes. Many Athenians came from the tribe of Erechtheus. When the fleet sailed towards Egypt to help its King Inaros in his revolt against the Persians, Cyprus was left once more without protection and under the mercy of the Persians. Later on, Kimon was able to liberate Marion from the dynasty in allegiance with the Persians, Sasmai, and helped King Stasioikos to gain the throne instead. Archaeologists found a quadrangular Greek building there of the Mycenaean Megaron style and a temple for goddess Athena, which undoublty belong to Kimon. While Citium was under siege when King Azbaal was there, Kimon died due to a contagious disease or a wound during the war. His soldiers –suffering from famine – concealed the news about his death for thirty days. Eventually, they had to break the siege and return to Salamis. The Greek forces then withdrew from Cyprus and that was an announcement of the failure of the Athenian policy in Cyprus and the

Near East. When Pericles began his rule in Athens, he sent Kallias for negotiations, so he made the 449/448 BC treaty, which stabilized things according to the status quo and put an end to the Athenian – Persian conflict. According to the basic terms of that treaty, the Greek cities situated to the east of Phaselis were left under Persian rule. This was mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (XII 4,4-5). Thus, Athens failed in freeing Cyprus of its troubles and suffering under the Persian occupation.

The Persian-Phoenician alliance against the Cypriot-Greek city-states received a new support and strength in 447 BC, as the royal pro-Persian families – as those in Salamis–were exchanged for others from the Phoenicians. In Salamis Abdemon from Tyre was killed in 415 BC and they placed another Phoenician ruler to replace him on the throne. Abdemon was the last in dynasty that had replaced Teucrus Nicodamus – Lacharidas – Euanthis. And in Lapethos, a Phoenician dynasty as well as a Greek one had ruled. Worshipping in the city included Melqart (Hercules), Enat, Astarte (Aphrodite), and the armed goddess Athena.

During the reign of Abdemon, a barbaric process to spoil everything Greek in Salamis took effect. It was an anti-Hellenic policy adopted by the Persian party in Cyprus. However, it all ended in 411 BC when Evagoras I returned from his voluntary exile. He was born in 435, Teucrid i.e. a descendant of Teukros (Teucrus)[(54)]. He had spent the period of his voluntary exile at Soloi, in Kilikia. After fortifying Salamis and building a fleet, he worked towards bringing together all the contending Cypriot kings. He sought to turn Cyprus into an advanced fortified centre for Hellenism in confrontation with the Persians. His efforts could have been the consequences of the teachings of Isokrates and Antisthenes. Due to the great difficulties faced by Darius (424-404 BC) in Egypt and the Jews and the Greeks, he was obliged to keep quiet about Evagoras and overlook his antagonistic movements as long as he was obliged to pay the tribute. One of the

(54) Isocr., *Evagoras*, 49-50.

Greek adventurers who came to live in Salamis was the orator Andokides who had been expelled from Athens (415/415 BC), emigrated to Citium and from there to Salamis, possessing property in the two Cypriot cities. It was Andokides who persuaded Evagoras to send corn and bronze to the Athenian fleet in Samos, which contributed to the victory of Athens over Sparta (Sept. 411 BC) during one of the stages of the peloponnesim war between the two countries. In 410 BC, in response to a suggestion from Andokides, Evagoras sent another stage of aid to Athens which decided to honour him. Therefore, a resolution to that effect was issued in 410/409 BC granting Evagoras the honrary Athenian citizenship. And in 411 BC, it seems that Evagoras was having negotiations on behalf of Athens with Tissaphernes the governor of Sardis (412-407 BC), and perhaps an agreement of alliance between Salamis and Athens[55]. was signed then. Evagoras's efforts towards the unification of Cyprus were met with strong opposition from some of the Cypriot kings, particularly Anaxagoras, the King of Soloi and the ally of the Persians.

We recognise Evagoras's attempts to become the ruler and master of the whole of Cyprus and to be independent and equal to the great king of Persia from the golden coin he minted. He was the first Cypriot king to take this step. That coin was similar to the coins of Euboea and Rhodes and it bore the head of Hercules as created by the painter Praxiteles. It also had the name Evagoras inscribed in Greek for the first time in Cyprus. On the other side of the coin, the same name was written in the local Cypriot syllabic script. Eventually, the 'Great at King' decided to interfere to put an end to Evagoras's antagonistic efforts towards the Persians. He commanded the governor of Sardis, Autophradates, and the King of Caria, Hekatomnos, to prepare a large military power for a cost that reached fifteen thousand talents to launch a campaign on Cyprus with the aim of destroying Evagoras. However, this attempt was futile because the king of Caria betrayed his ally and secretly contacted Evagoras. Athens itself had turned to the use of peaceful means and allegiance to the Persians and

(55) Thuc. VIII 87.

they sent them some assistance; a fleet composed of ten triple- oared ships (triremes) under the command of Conon's rich Athenian friend Aristophanes son of Nikophemos from Salamis. The commander of the Spartan fleet, Teleutias, captured the Cypriot fleet near Rhodes in 390 BC and thus he turned over all the scales[56]. Evagoras sought the help of Acoris, the king of Egypt, who had been in alliance with Athens since 390/389 BC, according to a treatment contracted perhaps through Evagoras himself. What is significant is that the Egyptian king sent a great assistance to Evagoras (388 BC), and Athens sent two fleets. The first fleet was under the command of Thrasybulus who did not reach his destination as he was killed in Aspendos. The second was under the command of Chabrias and it comprised more than ten ships and a large number of armed soldiers (*hoplites*). It reached Cyprus in 387 BC, and through it Evagoras was able is control most of the Island. Thereupon, he struck a golden coin in every city conquered by him and it bore his initial (E). But Sparta succeeded in its attempts to have close relations with the Persians and signed the 386 BC treaty according to which all cities of Asia Minor, the Clazomenae Islands and Cyprus were to be once again subjucated to Persia. Chabrias escaped to Egypt, Aristophanes son of Nihophemos was killed, and the Persians had only Evagoras who insisted on resisting until the end[57].

Because the Persians faced hard times in Egypt, Kilikia, Pisidia, Phoenicia..._etc., Evagoras attempted to control Tyre itself and even the rest of Phoenicia and Kilikia. He led a campaign made up of six thousand warriors, many mercenaries and other forces from the allies, carried in ninety ships, seventy of which were Cypriot and the other twenty taken from the spoils of the war in Tyre. Evagoras collected a large amount of money from the rulers of the Near East who were against the Persians, among them was King Aradus. Therupon, Evagoras blocked the way against the Persians who had indulged into the war for three years in Egypt from 386/385 BC. Consequently, Artaxerxes had to give the Cypriot issue the priority of action. Indeed,

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(56) Xenoph. Hell. IV. Iii 24.

(57) [Greek] IEE vol. 12, pp. 156-173.

he prepared a good army and a huge fleet in Phocaea and Kyme, supervised by Orontes, Tiribazos and Glos. The Persian forces, among which there were Greek mercenaries, crossed to Cyprus from Ionia through Kilikia in 385 BC. Evagoras concentrated his efforts on the heroic resistance, quick counter-attacks, and he incurred heavy losses upon the Persians. However, whereas the Persian supplies were extending and full of money and provisions, it was only Acoris, the King of Egypt, who sent a large aid to Evagoras represented in fifty ships, making his whole fleet two hundred. When he attempted to attack the Persian fleet at its sail from Salamis to Citium, the catastrophe fell and the Cypriots were defeated at the end of 385 BC. Tiribazos then left Cyprus to the court of the 'Great King', while Orontes was left to resume the campaign. Evagoras escaped to Egypt asking for assistance and attempted to be close to Sparta by flattering its rulers. He had left his son Pnytagoras to look after the affairs of the state in Cyprus. But when Tribazos returned with two thousand talents and as the commander – in – chief of the Persian campaign, Evagoras was returning from Egypt with less money. He had found the son of Acoris, Nectanebis II, in power after his father (384/383 BC). Moreover, Evagoras found that the blockade of Salamis had become unbearable, so he accepted the offers for peace and negotiated with Tiribazos. The peace terms included that Evagoras would give up the leadership of Cyprus, on the national and the general planes; and to pay an annual tribute to the 'Great King' as his subordinate. That meant that Salamis would become a 'province' among the others of the Persian Empire.

Evagoras rejected these unreasonable conditions and started to negotiate with Orontes who had arrested his commander Tiribazos and sent him chained to Susa accusing him of treason for secretly concurring with Sparta. But Glos, Tiribazos's brother-in-law, revolted against Orontes and made a contract with Sparta and Egypt. Glos was then killed and was succeeded by Tachos who followed the same road and met the same fate (383/382 BC). All these events were in the interests of Evagoras who exploited the circumstances and kept resisting in Salamis (382-380 BC). Orontes had to draw a treaty with

him (380 BC) according to which the Cypriot leader accepted to be a subordinate to King Artaxerxes, i.e. to be a king subordinate to another king. This means a limited subordination to the Persian Crown–or a limited independence – similar to the rulers of Greek cities in Asia Minor according to the 395 BC treaty[58].

Thus, Evagoras gave a superb example of the Greek hero, foreshadowing a greater role to be played centuries later by Alexander the Great. However, the model Cypriot hero was assassinated with his son Pnytagoras by an eunuch called Thrasydaeus. Isocrates (436-338 BC) talked about Evagoras as a model of the righteous, just, honouable and noble ruler, and that he was the brave hero who combined, in addition to his mental abilities, a wide knowledge of the Orient and its affairs. That rare hero was assassinated by the interior Greek conflicts. The funeral celebration set by his son Nicocles were an excellent, detailed and thorough show to the Hellenic Cypriot culture that reached its peak at the time of Evagoras.[59]

Nicocles ascended the throne after his father Evagoras, and the days proved he was the worst progeny to the best predecessor. He kept competing with Strato of Sidon in licentious behaviour and promiscuity. Originally, he was one of the allies of the Persian party in Cyprus, according to Isocrates (*Nicocles* 34), he joined the revolt of the Persian governors in allegiance to the 'Great King' and died in jail in 351 BC, in the same manner as Strato did. He was succeeded by Evagoras II who could be the son-or the grandson of the model heroic Evagoras I. The party that had opposed the Persians was led by his brother Pnytagoras (?) son of Evagoras I, but they were both killed together. Hence, Evagoras II hated the Persians from the start and joined the revolt that broke out in Phoenicia and Egypt (351 BC) against them. The army sent by the Persians consisted of eight thousand mercenary soldiers on forty ships sent by Idrius son of

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(58) Xenoph. Hell. III iv. 25.

(59) For more details about Evagoras, see:
[Greek] Spyridakis, passim. Idem, *Evagoras I von Salamis, Untersuchungen sur Geschitchte des Kyprischen Konigs.* Stuttgart 1935, 1942, *passim.*

Hecatomnus of the ruling family in Caria, according to the orders of Artaxerxes III, Ochus (359/358-338 BC).

The campaign was led by the Athenian Phokion and accompanied by Evagoras II (345-344 BC). They were able to capture Salamis and used it as a centre through which they could confiscate the rest of the Island after plundering its farms and wealth. The invasion soldiers were doubled by the arrival of many volunteers from Syria and Kilikia tempted by the extremely sumptuous and seductive spoils.

Pnytagoras surrendered and became subordinate to Artaxerxes and so he kept his throne. But Evagoras II, who was reported by Pnytagoras, fled from Cyprus to exile. He was able, however, to earn the confidence of the Persian King who gave him a small kingdom in Phoenicia, but he ruled it badly. Then he returned to Salamis where he was murdered. In spite of his allegiance to the Persians, Pnytagoras was able to reserve the cultural Hellenic heritage in Cyprus, specially the city of Salamis. He paid a visit to Delos as a public guest (Proxenos) and offered two wreaths of gold to one of the temples. What is important is that the culture of Cyprus throughout the fifth and the fourth centuries BC was mainly Hellenic in spite of its successive subjection to waves of Eastern invasion.

After the 'Peace of Callias' (449-448 BC), the cultural and commercial relations between the Greeks and the Cypriots who opened the Eastern markets to Athens were not broken. The Attica red-figured pottery knew its way to Cyprus and Asia Minor about the fifth century. The Greek taste, which is variegated, in its style and rich in its beauty, was able to penetrate along with the style of the lives of the Greeks into the Cypriot Island. So, it found a fertile soil in which it bloomed throughout the first half of the fifth century BC. In a clay statue we find the of goddess Athena wearing the helmet and the Aegis, and getting ready to mount a military carriage of four horses. This statue was among the offerings given to the temple of Apollo Lykios in Mersinaki between Vouni and Soloi; it goes back to the fifth century BC. Among the other offerings presented to the temple of goddess?

Athena at the top of a hill in Vouni was a bronze cow, which resembles the famous statue of Myron; and there were other small statues for goddess Athena donning the Corinthian helmet. The worship of this goddess extended to the valley of Solea. Unforturnately when the Phoenicians captured Idalion (470 BC), they destroyed the temple of Athena, the city's protecting divinigy. The temple had the famous board of rules that could be included among the items of social solidarity. The Greek sculptors settling in Cyprus made some statues as "Kouros" (480 BC) of which we have only the head now. It reminds us of the works of sculpture in the temple of Zeus in Olympia. In Tamassos or Salamis they found a bronze head for a statue for Apollo (46 BC) which could be the best work of art in the whole of Cyprus in the fifth century. The Cypriot coins bore images of the Olympian gods. Moreover, there is a Phoenician called Abdsasom who offered a small statue to Apollo Alasiotas in Tamassos in 375 BC. Another Greek Phoenician called Mnaseas offered a statue to Apollo Heleitas in the same city in 362 BC

Among the many Athenians who came to Salamis and settled there, we remember the reputed admiral, Konon, who considered Salamis as Athens of the East and married a Cypriotess. After the crushing defeat of Athens in rigospotamoi (405 BC), Conon sought the court of Evagoras. He then attempted with his host rescuing Hellenism. One of their joint attempts to make an alliance contract between Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily and Evagoras the Cypriot was futile. The result was that Dionysius refused to send trisemes to Sparta in 396/395 BC. Eventually, Conon was able to conquer Sparta and its fleet in Cnidos (394 BC) under the commandment of Peisandros. Conon returned victorious to Athens which honoured him and his friend Evagoras and two statues were made for them in the Agora (public market), at the foot of the Acropolis, next to the statue of Zeus. In 392 Conon was arrested after being accused of treason by the Persian ruler, Tiribazus, when he went to Sardis in an attempt to disclose the Persian-Spartan close relations through Antalkidas). It seems that Conon after spending a period of time in the prisons of Sardis escaped to Cyprus to live with his family

there. He died and was buried on the Island.

Intellectual life in Cyprus was an organic part of the Greek world, and its literary output was purely Greek in the true sense of the word without contradicting with the tangible oriental influences which gave everything Cypriot a distinguished flavour different from the Greek. The cultural exchange between Cyprus and the continental Greek territories as well as the islands of the Aegean Sea was regularly continuous without any disruption. It was accompanied by commercial exchange and the like. The Greeks used to turn to Cyprus as tourists, settlers, or seeking labour and bargains. On the other hand, the Cypriots were always visiting Crete, Rhodes, Athens and the rest of the Greek territories. The two parties participated in cultural competitions, sporting games, and in consulting oracle centres, specially in Delphi and the worship of the Olympian gods. The Cypriots who were living in the Greek lands used to marry Greek women in their place of settlement. The Greeks settling in Cyprus did exactly the same thing. In the fourth century BC, there was a Salaminian community (*Koinon Salaminion*) who was practicing its various activities in Piraeus. It was an organised community and had its own secretary. We got various documents about its activities and its administration. The Cypriots who had settled in Athens were working as merchants, in the exchange of currency, or they were slaves. One of them worked in the art of bronze sculpture and excelled in it. He was called Styppax(60). We also got similar documents about Cypriots who settled in the island of Thira, Aegina, and Delos; and some others settled in cities like Argos, Chios, Rhodes, Tanagra, Epidaurus, Delphi and others. In the Ptolemaic age, the number of Greeks living in Cyprus increased after learning that the kings of Cyprus welcomed Athenians who were distinguished in their country. This matter had been started by Evagoras who granted lands to the Athenians living in Cyprus. Consequently, great artists, writers, poets, and politicians came to the Island. This signifies that the Greek cultural stream that had been pouring into the Cypriot life since ancient times was always progressing.

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(60) Plin., N.H. xxx 81.

Cypriot lyric poets lived in the Royal court during the fifth century BC. It is what we gather from the second Pythian Ode by

ἄλλοις δέ τις ἐτέλεσσεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ
εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον, ἄποιν' ἀρετᾶς.
15 κελαδέοντι μὲν ἀμφὶ Κινύραν πολλάκις

Pindar who says:

φᾶμαι Κυπρίων, τὸν ὁ χρυσοχαῖτα προφρόνως
ἐφίλασ' Ἀπόλλων,

ἐπ.

ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας· ἄγει δὲ χάρις φίλων
ποίνιμος ἀντὶ ἔργων ὀπιζομένα·

"Other lords have other minstrels to pay them the meed of melodious song, as the gueron of victory. Full oft do the p :es of the men of Cyprus echo the name of Cinyras, Aphrodite's priestly minion, who was gladly loved by golden-haired Apollo. For those praises are prompted by a gratitude which giveth reverential regard in requital for kindly deeds".

The *Argonautica*, an epic written by Kleon from Kourion (Currium) in the fourth century B.C. was the source of Apollonius' epic of the same title. Apollonius came from Rhodes and he was probably one of the greatest poets of Alexandria(61). Although we only know one Cypriot writer of tragedy , Dionysius, and we have also referred to a known Cypriot singer using the lyre called Kriton, yet, singing, dancing, tragedies and comedies were all flourishing arts in Salamis, Soloi, and other places.

Sopatros of Paphos wrote several comedies. He lived in a transitional period between the fourth and the third centuries BC, and was one of the writers who contributed to the folk comedy *Phlylakon*.

(61) CGF 192 ff.

He composed satiric poems and folk dramatic tales at a time between the age of Alexander the Great and that of Ptolemy II. What is extant of his works is some fragments. In fragment number 19, he mentions Thibron who put Harpalus to death in 324 BC; and we gather from fragments 1 and 24 that Sopatros lived for a while in Alexandria. Fourteen titles of his works reached us, three of which seem to form a trilogy: *Bakchis*, The *Letter of Bakchis* and *The Wedding of Bakchis*. They are titles that remind us of similar ones written by Plautus, the celebrated Roman comic poet. Other titles of his works are: *Hippolytus*; *Nekyia*, or the ourney to the underworld; *Orestes*, which seems to be satiric parodies to some ancient tragedies. He also wrote *Galàtai*, of which a fragment of twelve lines is extant (No 6)(62). Other titles attributed to Sopatros are: *Physiologos*, *Phake*, *Knidia*, *Siphlai* and *Euthyboulotheobrotos*. The last long compound title reminds us of a known Aristophanic tendency in the formation of such comic expressions(63).

The iambic poet, Hermeias, lived in Kourion. He attacked the stoic philosophers, considered them hypocrites and called Zeno, the founder of their school, a "Phoenician"(64).

One of the most celebrated Cypriot historians is Clearchos (C. 340-250 BC) from Soloi who was a Peripatetic philosopher of Aristotle's deciples. He was a prol'fic writer and was known through quotations taken from his works, but the works themselves have been lost. The following are some of the titles that reached us:

- *On Life Styles (Peri Bion)*
- *On the Arts of Love (Erotica)*
- *Maxims, About Hydrology (Paroimiai, peri ton Ensydron)*

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(62) [Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Ancient Greek Literature*, pp. 453-506.

(63) *Ibid.*, pp. 332-370.
Idem (as translator), *The Clouds* by Aristophanes, Kuwaiti Series of From the *Universal Theatre*, no. 215 (August 1987), Introduction.

(64) About the texts of Clearchos from Soloi, see: [Greek]: Hatzioannou, vol. 5 pp. 137-156.

- *On Puzzles (Peri Griphon)*
- *Concerning Mathematic Discoveries in Plato's Republic (Peri ton en te platonos politeia Mathematikos euremenon)*
- *On Education (Peri Paideias)*
- *On Skeletons* [or Mummies?] *(Peri Skeleton)*
- *On Sleep (Peri Hypnou)*
- *On Friendship (Peri Philia)*
- *In Praise of Plato (Platonos Enkomion)*

Two of the most prominent historians of Cyprus were Aristos from Salamis and Asclepiades the Cypriot (the beginning of the second century BC). It was said that they wrote the history of Alexander the Great, *Ta Peri Alexandrou*, together. Asclepiades also wrote the "History of Cyprus and Phoenicia", *Peri Kyprou Kai Phoinikes*. Moreover, from the authors who recounted legendary history we mention Demetrius and Paion from Salamis, the Cypriots Hermesianax and Xenophon, Alexander from Paphos, and Demochares from Soloi (3-4 century BC) about whom little is known. It was said that he was a hisotrian, but it was also said he was a writer of comedy.

Zeno, the orator and philoloyist from Citium wrote commentaries on Xenophon, Lysias and Demosthenes. The Cypriot Eudemos (352 BC) was a favourite disciple of Aristotle who gave him his book *Peri Psyches* (on Soul) as a present. Nikanor the Cypriot (the fourth- the third centuries BC) was an Epicurean philosopher in close ties with Epicurus himself in Athens. He was an atheist, as the Alexandrian Clement mentioned (II 20-21 Protrep). Python, the son of Aristokrates from Chytroi lived in Cyprus at the beginning of the second century BC. He was one of the disciples of Epicureanism. Diosourides the Cypriot lived between 320-230 BC and he was a disciple of the sceptical Timon from Phlious. As to Cypriot medicine, it was represented by both Syennesis (c. the fourth century BC), and Diagoras (the end of the third century BC). The latter was the one who wrote commentaries on Hippocrates, the father of ancient Greek medicine. In Citium lived Apollodorus and the aforementioned Zeno

who was an orator, philologist and physician. He established a medical school in Kition and lived for a time in Alexandria. Apollonius who came from Citium was in the service of Ptolemy IX Auletes the flute-player (First Century BC), the father of Cleopatra VII. He wrote about the joints (*Peri arthron*). Phaidas the son of Damassagoras came from Tenedos and lived in the fourth and third centuries BC and died in Paleo Paphos.

7- Ptolemaic Cyprus

What attached Alexander the Great to Cyprus was its people's knowledge of the Middle East as well as the presence of experts who knew what was happening there, specially matters related to economic and political strategy. Cypriots knew their neighbours well, particularly the Phoenicians whom Alexander the Great would have never been able to conquer by his army only, they needed the Cypriot experience. Plutarch (Alex. 16). States that Zeno (335-263 B.C) of Citium, the Founder of Stoicism, had mentioned that Alexander was the only leader who realised the dream of the Universal State in which the human race could be reconciled. Under this state, races were mixed, became friendly with one another, inter-married and became in-laws and melt into the pot of fraternity and co-existence. Thus, he departed from the teachings of his master, the philosopher and the first teacher, Aristotle, who called for treating the Greeks in a distinct way and believed they were the leaders of the world, though the dates of birth of Zeno and Alexander the Great (365-323 BC) make us exclude the influence of the former on the latter for what is more probable is that Zeno admired the achievements of Alexander the Great since each of them was dreaming of universal government[65]. Moreover, the cultural project of Evagoras had paved the way to a local level in Cyprus, though it was not free from foreign suggestions.

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(65) [Arabic] Tareq Mustafa Radwan, "A Technical Study for the Biography of Alexander the Great in Plutarch", An M.A. Dissertation, Faculty of arts, Cairo University, 1991.
See also:
M.H. Fish, "*Alexander and the Stoics*" Ph LVIII (1937) pp. 123-157.



Fig. No. (31)

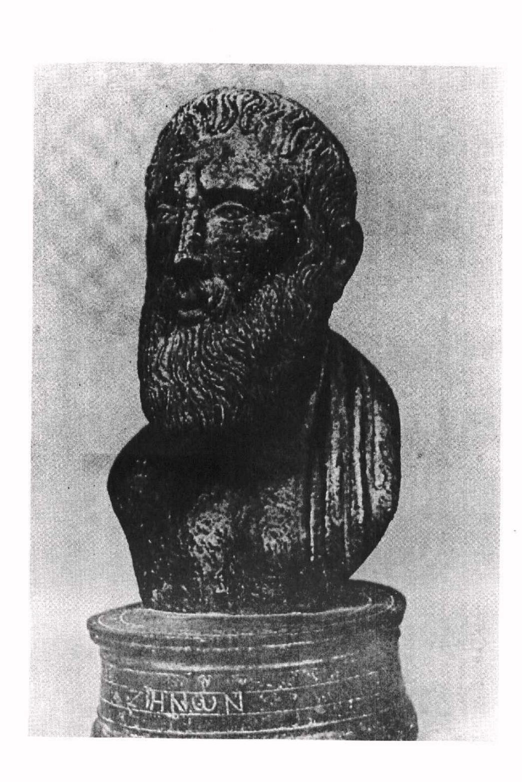


Fig. No. (32)



Fig. No. (33)

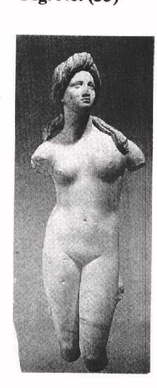


Fig. No. (34)



Fig. No. (35)



Fig. No. (36)

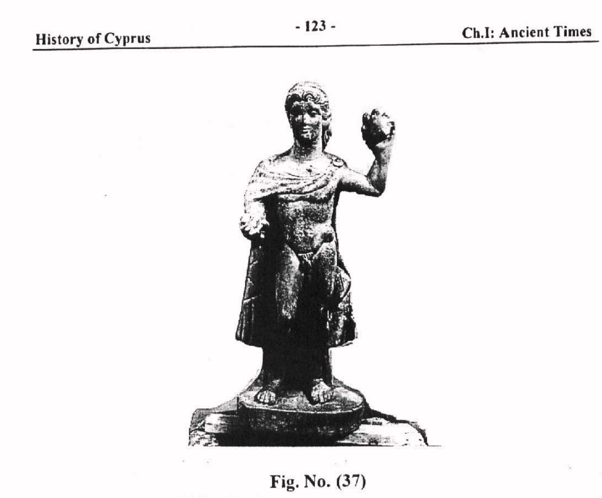


Fig. No. (37)



Fig. No. (38)

It is most probable that Evagoras had followed the teachings of Antisthenes (445-360 BC), the founder of the school of Cynicism and he followed the contents and the political advice of Isocrates, which asserts the ideological ties between Cyprus and the Greek territories. It also illustrates the role Cyprus played to reach maturity through the experience of the Polis (= city-state) system. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, Cyprus benefitted the people of the Hellenistic age as its mines were exploited for their interests, after the Near and Middle East round the Mediterrenean became like a unified state.

Alexander the Great kept the kings of Cyprus in their places. It is possible to grasp the reason because they all believed that their shared grandparent was Zeus. Perhaps the sword sent by the Phoenician king of Citium, Pumiathon, had a deeper significance that much surpasses its symbolic materialistic one. Much more important is the cloak made by the famous weaver of Cyprus, Helikon, and presented to Alexander the Great by the Island of Rhodes.

After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, the kings of Cyprus restored the minting of their coin after a long period of time, or since 333 BC. So, Pumiathon minted a golden coin that equalled half a stater. Nikokreon minted a silver-golden coin. As to Nikokles of Paphos, he minted a silver coin that equalled two staters in value. This asserts that the submission of the kings of Cyprus to Alexander the Great was not entirely pure, as most historians believe. Moreover, after the overwhelming success achieved by Alexander the Great in Ipsus (333 BC), the kings of Cyprus changed their attitude. After they had been co-operating with Darius, offering him military ships with complete crew, they started receiving Macedonian delegates, both consenting and opposing to Alexander the Great. They even voluntarily started putting their highly trained fleet under his disposal. It consisted of five-oared ships, which represented the best inventions in the ancient world in naval wars. Their fleet was no less in its capabilities than that of the Phoenicians. After the conquest of most of Phoenicia by Alexnader the Great, the kings of Cyprus sent a hundered and fifty ships to Sidon to help him. Then the Macedonian

leader started to recognize the importance of Cyprus in controlling the Middle East, particulalry Tyre and the rest of Phoenicia as a preliminary step to conquer Egypt.

Through the active contribution of Pnytagoras from Salamis, Androkles from Amathos, and Pasikrates from Soli, Tyre was besieged under the commandment of Andromachos, who blocked the northern side of the port while all powers coming from Phoenicia, Rhodes, Lykia and Kilikia blocked the southern side.

The blockage succeeded, though Pnytagoras's five-oared ship was lost. Likewise, the forces of Androkles and Pasikrates were gone astray, and Alexander the Great moved forward to rescue them. The importance of the Cypriot assistance to Alexander the Great became apparent from the quantity of gifts and rewards given to them after accomplishing victory. Pnytagoras was granted the city of Tamassos with its mines after taking them from the property of Citium. The Phoenician king of the latter city, Pomiathon, had bought it from the bankrupt king, Pasikypros, who only sent a sword to Alexander the Great during the war. The kings who stood by Alexander the Great were restored to their thrones and were considered his allies, though he imposed upon them to mint a coin bearing his name.

Alexander the Great returned to Tyre (Spring of 331 BC) after he had conquered Egypt and visited the temple of Amon-Zeus at Siwa where he was called by the priests as the 'son of god'. Then Alexander the Great sent a hundred Cypriot and Cretan ships towards the Aegean Sea and Crete to abort the preparations of the king of Sparta, Agis, aiming at raising the Greeks against him. In Tyre, Alexander gave offerings to Melqart, and was involved in administrative and organising works. He also called upon the kings of Cyprus to finance a festival for arts. Nikokreon from Salamis became Pnytagoras's successor–who might have been killed in Tyre– and became responsible for producing and directing festivals, Choregos, specially the troupe of Thessalos who was a friend of Alexander the Great. Pasikrates became responsible for the troupe of the Athenian

tragedian actor, Athenodoros, who won the first prize. The disappointment of Alexander the Great for the failure of his friend Thessalos was only compensated by the passionate extravagance and artisitc richness of the competitions as well as the unprecedented public reception of such an event.

Some politicians, not including Alexander the Great, accompanied few of Cyprus's experts in Orientalism on a trip to India. Stasanor, a Prince from Soli, was an effective tool in the administrative structure established by Alexander the Great in Persia. He played a prominent role in organizing the affairs of Areia (329/328 BC). Therefore, Alexander the Great appointed him a governor there. He also played the same role in Drangiana, so Alexaner the Great joined it to his govenorate (328/327 BC), and in 321 BC, Bakteria and Sogdiane Bollowed. In the same year, Stasander (his brother?) was granted Areia and Drangiana. Both Nikokles son of Pasikrates of Soloi and Nithaphon son of Pnytagoras of Salamis led the ships that were among Nearchus'[66]. voyage to the river Indus 326 BC. Hiero of Soloi sailed round the Arabian peninsula till the gulf separating between the Arabs and the Persians. When he reached Aden, he was scared and turned back to say that the Arabian lands are larger than the Indian. Then, in 324/323 BC the ships of Cyprus were able to transport the forces to Thapsus to build the fleet of Euphrates in preparation to reach India.

In the Hellenistic Age, the most famous successor to Alexander the Great was Nikokles of Paphos (325-309 BC) - the son of Timarchos (350-325 BC) – who founded Nea Paphos. He was a conservative king holding to the ancient Cypriot syllabic script and did not adopt the Greek script except much later. He was able to lead his family, the descendants of Kinyrades, to restore power once again after the death

(66) Nearchus, a native of Crete, was a close friend of Alexander the Great. His most famous achievement was his voyage from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian–Arab Gulf, near the mouth of Tigris. He wrote an account of this voyage (before 312 BC), which included valuable information about India. Both Strabo and Arrian made use of it. It is probable that Nearchus died in the battle of Gaza 312 BC

of Alexander the Great, who had never approved of that dynasty for its attachment to the worship of Aphrodite and monopolising the positions of priests in her temple. In spite of his loyalty to Ptolemy, Nikokles tended to be independent from Egypt. He minted his name on the back of the silver coin, the four drachmas, in 320 BC. His name was inscribed in very delicate letters among the matted locks of the lion. Nikokles introduced the worship of Hera along with Aphrodite, making them equal in worship. In addition, he built a temple for Artemis Agrotera, i.e. the Shepherdess, in coastal Nea Paphs, which became the place of his throne and a captial for his political, cultural and economic kingdom, though old Paphos remained a main religious centre. Thus he was able to come out of the narrow circle of his dynasty, i.e., the descendants of Kinyrades.

In 321 BC, Ptolemy was able to ensure the alliance of each of Nikokreon from Salamis, Pasikrates from Soloi, Nicocles from Paphes, and Androkles from Amathos. Thereupon, their fleet made up of 200 ships sailed in a compaign against Perdiccas who had sent a small force to protect the city (Marion?) loyal to him which was besieged by those kings. In the autumn of 321 BC, Antigonus passed by Cyprus on his way to Triparadeisos (the triple paradise) for the redistribution of the states after the death of Perdiccas. The Macedonian Prince, the leader of Lydia,. Kleitos, acted there as deputy to the Macedonian commander, Antipatros (397-319 BC) with his forces on the Island.

In 318 BC, one of Alexander's successors, Eumenes (362-316 BC) who was loyal to the Royal Macedonian dysnasty, was able to devote all the capacities of Asia Minor and Phoenicia to supply his army in Cyprus. He was put to death by Antigonus (317/316 BC). He then raised a great campaign to join Cyprus to his possessions after taking it from the Ptolemies. Antigonus, through his emissary gesilaos, held alliance treaties with Lapethos, Marion, Kyrenia and Citium. As to the rest of the kings in other cities, they were in alliance with the Ptolemies. Both Lapethos and Citium were among the cities that made alliance with Antigonus, and they were under Phoenician rule, though the inhabitants talked in Greek.

Ptolemy I, Soter the Saviour, sent his brother Menelaos on the head of a great power consisting of thirteen thousand men aboard a hundred ships. They joined Seleucus, fleet that had just arrived from the Aegean Sea, and they captured the Cypriot cities opposed to the Ptolemies. Seleucus himslef captured Kyrenia and Lapethos. Even Amathos had to deliver some hostages. Citium was captured after killing its Phoenician King, Pomiathon, who secretly contacted Antigonus. The city temples were burned (312 BC). Some kings were punished, as Praxippos II, the King of Lapethos; Themison, the King of Kyrenia to whom Aristotle had dedicated his book, *Protreptikos (Exhortation to philosophy)*[(67)]; and the King of Marion, Stasioekos II, whose city was levelled to the ground and therefore its inhabitants emigrated to Paphos[(68)]. All cities were confiscated and were handed over to Nikokreon who was appointed a commander –in- chief or a governor of Cyprus, whereas the commandment of the Ptolemaic army in Cyprus was left to Menelaos. A new age for Citium started.

Since 312/311 BC, Citium had become a Greek city because the victorious Nikokreon of Salamis had close ties with Greek culture, and his memory was immortalised by various writers and many inscriptions. However, his death was tragic as he was punished by Ptolemy after he had found out Nikokreon's collaboraiton with Antigonus. Ptolemy, therefore, sent two of his commanders to assassinate Nikokreon. But the latter preferred to commit suicide and was granted this chance. When his wife Axiothea, learned about this, she killed all her virgin daughters and persuaded her sisters – in-law to commit suicide with her. Their husbands did the same thing after burning the palace. The remnants of that burning was recently discovered. Many stories were narrated about the legendary extravagance in the palace of Nikokreon, the king of Salamis, and about his indulgence in the luxurious style of Greek life, which illustrates his antagonism to the Phoenician style of life.

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(67) [Greek] Albin Lesky, pp. 767 ff., 811.

(68) About Excavations in Nea Paphos, see:
Wiktor A. Daszewski, "*Nea Paphos Excavations 1995*", Polish Archeology in the Mediterranean VII (Warsaw 1996), pp. 91-99.

Androkles of Amathus pursued the same style of life, the same policy and culture established by Nikokreon in Salamis. He offered a gold crown (315-310 BC) as well as a statue of his son to Cypriot Aphrodite (Aphrodite Kypria) in Delos, as indicated by the inscription at the foot of the statue.

In 307 BC, and after the liberation of Athens from the tyrant Demetrius of Phalerum, the agent who worked for the Macedonian leader, Kassander (358-297 BC) the founder of Cassandreia and Thessalonke (modern Salonika) in 307 BC, Androkles proclaimed a campaign to occupy Cyprus as a starting point to Asia Minor. Indeed, Demetrius crossed to Carpass with an enormous force comprising seven Phoenician seven-oared ships and thirty Athenian four-oared ships. Under the commandment of Medias, Ourania and Carpassia were captured, and the fleet turned towards Salamis. The battle took place about five miles away and the enormous forces of Menelaos (12 thousand men) were defeated. One thousand men were killed, three thousand were captured and sent to Antigonus in Syria. However, the huge preparations of Demetrius failed in besieging Salamis due to its strong resistance. Then Ptolemy's fleet came to help Menelaos. The fleet comprised 14 ships – some of them Cypriot- and it joined Menelaos in Paphos. The fleet was accompanied by 200 transport ships, whereas the men aboard were ten thousand. However, Demetrius defeated the Ptolemaic fleet opposite Citium and captured eight thousand of them among which there were Menelaos himself and one of Ptolemy's sons (306 bC). Demetrius behaved in a great honorable and noble manner towards them. During the twelve years (306-294 BC) Demetrius ruled Cyprus, the Island was the main centre for the provision of ships and weapons? for him and his son, Demetrius the conqueror. After Antigonus' defeat and his death in Ipsus (301 BC), Demetrius ruled Cyprus isolated in his station in Salamis where he called his mother, Stratonike, to come and stay with him.

However, the increasing involvement of Demetrius in the affairs of Macedonia and the Greek territories entangled him in a successive series of defeat and failure in different battles, specially in Ephesus,

Miletus, and Kilikia which gave the chance to Ptolemy to re-occupy Cyprus, though he had offered his daughter to be Demetrius' wife in 299/292 BC. Ptolemy treated Demetrius family honorably and with respect. The Ptolemies ruled Cyprus from 294-58 BC, and from 48/47 – 31 BC. They turned the Island into an advanced, fortified place for the defence of Egypt.

It was then inevitable for Cyprus to be involved in the internal Ptolemaic contentions. In 277 BC, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, (245-246 BC) killed his half-brother-son of Ptolemy I, Soter – because he urged the Cypriots to revolt[69]. Ptolemy Philadelphus's interest in Cyprus as a centre for building ships is revealed through the statue he erected for the naval architect, Pyrgoteles son of Zoes in Paleo Paphos. The architect who was also specialised in building ships, Pritios, was active in Nea Paphos. In fact, the abundant availability of wood for building ships in the Paphos area as well as its proximity to Egypt were two good reasons to transfer the Capital from Salamis to Paphos at the beginning of the second century BC. The climax of the state of security and the prevalence of peace in Ptolemaic Cyprus during the reign of the first two kings, Soter and Philadelphus are revealed through establishing no less than three cities named Arsinoe; one on the eastern coast, a second in the south of Salamis, and the third on the south west coast, between old Paphos and new Paphos. These cities were established to immortalize the name of Ptolemy II's wife/ sister who – like him – was worshipped as a goddess C. 272-271 BC. She was considered another image of Aphrodite or Naias, i.e. river or sea mermaid in Chytroi. Worship rituals were officially performed for her under the supervision of a priest called Kanephoros. It reminds us of the grand festivals and rituals of Panathenaea, when the maids of Athens carried gold or silver vessels or baskets containing all that was required for the rituals to be performed in temples erected all over Cyprus. A golden coin equal to eight drachmas was struck to commemorate the deifying process of Arsinoe.

(69) Paus., I. 71.

In the third Syrian war ignited by Ptolemy III, Euergetes (the good-doer) 245 BC, against Queen Laodike, most probably Cyprus was the main basis for the outbreak of the military attack. In 238 BC, Cyprus was one of the principal regions that supplied Egypt with wheat during the famine that took place because of the drought.

Since the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator, "his father's lover", (221 – 203 BC) onwards, the importance of the military role of Cyprus in the internal Ptolemaic contentions as well as their foreign affairs had increased. This required establishing a tight military administrative system to be under the control of an able military commander (strategos). This formed precedence in the system of Roman-Byzantine rule in Cyprus. The first commander-ruler in Ptolemaic Cyprus was the Macedonian Pelops Pelopos (= pelops son of pelops) (c. 217 – 209 BC).

Cyprus, along with other Egyptian possessionts in Asia Minor and the south of Syria, became the property of Antiochus III the Great, the King of Syria, in the agreement to distribute the spoils of war between him and the Macedonian King, Philip V, in 202 BC. However, Antiochus failed to exercise control over Cyprus in 196 BC. His successor Antiochus IV Epihanes had a different attitude which was in alliance with Ptolemy VI Philometor (his mother lover) against his brother Ptolemy VIII (or VII) Euergetes II, i.e. "Benefactor", Physkon. Thus, Antiochus IV succeded in dominating Cyprus in 168 BC through the traitor ruler of Cyprus, Ptolemy Makron. Nonetheless, Antiochus was forced to evacuate Cyprus and Egypt of his military forces by a speedy intervention from Rome, which had become the major power in the east basin of the Mediterranean. A Roman delegation stayed in Cyprus for a while to supervise the complete evacuation of Antiochus forces. When the joint rule between the two Ptolemy brothers (164 BC) was split apart, Philometor sought Rome to defend his case. From there he moved to Cyprus which he kept as part of his kingdom in Egypt with temporary consent from Rome, from the middle of 163 to 155 BC

In 162 BC, Physkon became a king over Kyrene (now El shahat in Lïbya), calling in vain to annex Cyprus to his kingdom. The two brotehrs expected Rome to come to their help to the extent that Physkon thought of bequeathing his kingdom to Rome. A futile plot conspired by Demetrius I Soler of Syria was discovered. It aimed at capturing Cypurs in 155 BC by means of a secret agreement with its ruler Archias who betrayed his master who appointed him, Philometor the King of Egypt. These circumstances encouraged Physkon to renew his efforts to take Cyprus through the help of Rome, which he visited and delivered a speech in the Senate. They were greatly touched, specially when he showed them the scars of deep wounds caused by his brother's men. But as soon as his feet touched Cyprus he was captured by his brother's forces, who was later reconciled with him and sent him as a ruler of Kyrene, while he remained the ruler of Egypt and Cyprus. The situation did not change until his death 146/145 BC. By that time, he had regained Rome's satisfaction about him. Cato the Censor supported him by an impressive speech, and Crete offered him a substanial aid. Philometor and his family had a perceptible popularity in Cyprus, the thing which is illustrated by the inscription on the Cypriot silver coin that equalled four drachmas. It is also illustrated by his introducing the minting of this coin that bears the sign PA into Alexandria.

The second sovereign in Ptolemaic Cyprus was Polykrates son of Mnasiades who came from Argos (C. 203/202 – 197 BC). He himself was the high priest on the island. The title "Archon" was added to his name. It is worth noting that during the Byzantine age, combining the two titles–the military "Strategos", and the ruling "Archon" – was possible then. The coin struck in Cyprus under Polykrates was silver equal to four drachmas and bore the inscription "of Ptolemy the King" (Basileos Ptolemaiou) and it signifies Ptolemy V Epiphanes –the apparent. This was the main Ptolemaic coin used in Egypt until the end of the Ptolemaic age.

The sovereign commander used to live in Salamis, and was usually from the Ptolemaic dynasty. After Ptolemy Euergetes II (146 –

116 BC), he was one of the commanders of the fleet (nauarches). His assistant was the deputy commander who was the principal director of the mines. The two secretaries (*grammateis*) used to look after the fleet and the infantry, specially at the end of the Ptolemaic age, when the administrative system in Cyprus had developed and attained a great degree of perfection.

After the death of Ptolemy VIII (116 BC), his son Ptolemy IX Soter II, Lathyros, returned from Cyprus to Alexandria. His mother was Cleopatra III, and his father appointed him as a sovereign – commander (Strategos) over Cyprus for several years. Now, he came back to sit with his mother on the throne. His sister/wife Cleopatra IV, whom he had forsaken by his mother's orders to marry his younger sister Cleopatra Selene, was forced to flee to Cyprus where she collected a large army. She then went to Syria and offered her new husband, King Antiochus IX Kyzikenos, the army she brought with her. As to Alexander the youngest son of Cleopatra III and the one who had been sent by her to Cyprus at the end of 116 BC as a *Strategos*, he had considered himself since 114/113 BC a Monarch over the Island and struck in its three mints his own coins. He also appointed his own tutor Helenos as a *Strategos*. When Alexander left Cyprus heading for Alexandria 108/107 BC to start ruling Egypt with his mother as Ptolemy X Alexander I, Soter II who had been pursued by the people of Alexandria fled to Cyprus and then to Syria. However, he returned to the Island in 106/105 BC and was able to gain the allegiance of all the forces there except for the two Jewish commanders Ananias and Chelkias. And in 104 BC, Alexander sailed from Cyprus to the south of Syria to support Kyzikenos against Antiochus Grypos the king of Damascus and Alexander Iannaeous the King of Palestine. Cleopatra III was supporting them. Soter II went back to Cyprus in 102 BC and offered his daughter as a wife to Alexander after 101 BC. Then in 95 BC, he sent forces to help Demetrius Eukairos in Syria. The latter was one of the sons of Grypos who were demanding the crown. As Soter was in alliance with the Romans in their struggle against the pirates, he was called in 88 BC to rule Egypt instead of Alexander I who fled to Cyprus where he was killed by the naval commander,

Chaireas. The epoch of Soter II was rarely recorded on coins, may be because of his long absence from the Island, whereas Alexander I epoch was recorded on the four drachmas silver coin in an integrated way. Soter II died in 80 BC. In fact, our literary sources about Cyprus between 88-80 BC are Plutarch and Appianus[70].

From the writings of these two historians we knew that Licinius Lucullus, Sulla's envoy, came to Cyprus in 87/86 BC in an attempt to obtain ships to support Rome's war against Mithridates. However, his attempts did not achieve much success. It was because the Cypriot fleet and land forces were exhausted due to the internal Ptolemaic contentions. In addition, the native Egyptians began to grumble against the Ptolemies, so their resistance wasted much military effort. In order to fill the gap, Soter II offered the Cypriots, for the first time under the Ptolemaic domination, some high political position. In his age, and again for the first time, the Cypriot Union (*Koinon Kyprion*) appeared, which was established to look after the cult of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and perhaps for some other aims. Under the banner of this union, some other groups like "Dionysus group" joined. Paphos became the capital from the second century BC. It enjoyed a "boule" (= senate) and a "demos" (Council of the common) as well as a Gymnasion, which is an institute for athletic exercises and directed education, as well as similar institutions of the traditional Greek cities.

In the Ptolemaic age, the Phoenicians were still monopolising trade in Cyprus, the administrative positions and the clergy. In 275/274 BC, Yathan Baal was the virtual ruler there. As to the priest of Ptolemy, the king's most favourite person, he was Abd-Ashtart son of Ger Ashtart. In 138-133 BC, the Jews succeeded in getting Rome's support to practise their religious rites in all countries of the east Mediterranean including Cyprus.

Yet, years of peace and settlement were interrupted from 146-

(70) Plut., Lucullus, III 1-2.
Appianus, Bell. Mithr. 56.

130 BC by the skirmishes of the Civil War between Physkon and his first wife Cleopatra II (Philometor's widow). Thereupon, Physkon fled to Cyprus with his second wife Cleopatra III (daughter of Cleopatra II) and Memphites (his son from Cleopatra II). In Cyprus, the latter was killed along with another son of Physkon by an order from their father himself out of fear of the presence of rivals for him and to revenge of his two wives. Physkon succeeded in 129 BC, and was soon reconciled with Cleopatra II in 124 BC. Peace prevailed until 116 BC. Due to the loss of many of the Ptolemies' possessions in the Aegean Sea, Cyprus acquired an increasing importance as an advanced marine basis for Egypt. This is illustrated by the increasing power and tasks given to the ruler of Cyprus, which comprised various fields from judicial and administrative affairs to the fleet that was facing the threats of Kilikia's pirates. The importance of Cyprus increased after the collapse of the naval power of Rhodes, the first defence line ahead of them. The title "Autokrator" was added to the ruler-commander (Strategos) in Cyprus, which was enjoyed by Krokos (131/130 – 124 BC), and Theodorus (124 – 118 BC). The non-Cypriot Greek forces – i.e. the mercenaries – were divided into contingencies called *Koina*, attributed to the nationality of its soldiers. They would say for instance "Koinon Kreton" to refer to the Cretan Contingent and so forth, as the Achaean contingent ... etc. Most of these forces settled in Salamis and Paphos.

The Roman intervention in Ptolemaic Egypt has become a repeated matter since the beginning of the first century BC, which naturally affected Cyprus in the same way. After the death of Soter II in Alexandria (80 BC), his two sons living in Syria were appointed as his successors, Kings of Egypt and Cyprus respectively. The first became Ptloemy XII the flute-player Auletes Nothos or Dionysos Neos the King of Egypt. The second was Ptolemy the King of Cyprus. That was how the Ptolemaic kingdom was divided, which suited Rome and its strategic aims that it was said that Alexander II, son of Alexander I who took him to Rome before his assassination by the public in Alexandria, left a legacy bequeathing his kingdom including Cyprus to the Romans. Although in 59 BC legislation issued by Julius Caesar to

recognise ptolemy Auletes as Rome's ally, Cyprus was not mentioned, yet, Caesar's man and his loyal follower, that adverturous politician and genius, the leader of the public Clodius Pulcher issued another legislation the following year called "*nefaria*", which turned Cypurs into a Roman province, following Kilikia, the Roman province since 103 BC. Its treasury had to be confiscated for the benefit of purifying the sea from pirates. Porcus Cato as a financial ruler (*Quaestor*) in the place of a praetor had to implement such annexation. As to the weak King of Cyprus, Ptolemy, he rejected Cato's offer to be appointed the "High Priest" in the temple of Aphrodite of Paphos in the case of quietly surrendering to Rome. Instead, he committed suicide. ptolemy Auletes accepted the loss of Cyprus and did not lift a finger. When angry Alexandrians dismissed him, he turned to Rome asking for assistance. A public auction was held to sell the King's treasury for seven thousand talents taken by the honest *quaestor* to Rome in 58 BC. That represents the silent revenge of defeated Cyprus of its conqueror, as Seneca the philosopher said[71]. Between 58 and 48 BC, Cyprus became a Roman province and part of Kilikia. Pompey the Great passed by it after his defeat in Pharsalus (48 BC) on his way to Egypt where he was slain as soon as he reached the land of the Nile. Julius Caesar was chasing him thereto.

With the arrival of Julius Caesar to Alexandria and his alliance with Cleopatra VII, his paramour, Egypt became under his domain, i.e. from 48 BC. That Roman Monarch had been mainly planning to grant Cyprus to the two young children of Ptolemy Auletes Arsinoe and Ptolemy XIV, so as to keep Egypt to Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII, according to the will of Auletes himself. However, Arsinoe conspired against Caesar and Cleopatra. Then, Cleopatra VII was restored to the throne of Egypt (27 March 47 BC) and Caesar begot his son from her who was called by the Alexandrians "Caesarion" 28/7/47 BC. Cyprus then was restored to the Ptolemaic monarchy. The occcasion was commemorated on coins struck in Paphos bearing the inscription of Cleopatra holding her son Caesarion in her arms.

(71) Seneca, Ad Marciam de Consol., XX 5.

Serapion was the magistrate then appointed by Cleopatra in Cyprus until he was killed by Antony as a punishment after his victory in the battle of Philippi 42 BC because he gave ships to Gaius Cassius, one of the murderers of Julius Caesar, and when Serapion was in Cyprus he corresponded with Cicero in 41 BC.

What is significant is that Antony gave Cyprus to Cleopatra. Plutarch says in describing the procession of victory and the distribution of territories as gifts by Antony in 34 BC:

ἐμπλήσας γὰρ ὄχλου τὸ γυμνάσιον, καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ βήματος ἀργυροῦ δύο θρόνους χρυσοῦς, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῶι, τὸν δὲ Κλεοπάτραι, καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἑτέρους ταπεινοτέρους, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας, συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῆι Καισαρίωνος,

"Because after filling the Gymnasion (in Alexandria) with masses of people, he put on a silver rostrum two thrones; one for himself [Antony] and the other for Cleopatra. He also put other smaller thrones for his children and declared the following: First, Cleopatra is the Queen of Egypt and Cyprus... Her royal throne is to be shared by Caesarion[72].

Nikokrates of Cyprus possessed one of the largest and most famous libraries of the ancient world until his own epoch as it comprised among other collections Soloi's public library, which had been run by Apollonios. As to Onesandros (or Onasandros) the son of Nauskirates from the city of Paphos, he was appointed by Ptolemy Lathyrus (14Γ-81 BC) as the head of the Library of Alexandria. The

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(72) Plut., Antonios, LIV 3-6.
For more details about the subject, see:
[Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Cleopatra and Antony: A Study in the Art of Plutarch, Shakespeare and Shawky*. Second ed. Aegyptus: Cairo, 1990, pp. 49-125.

name of Cyprus had been associated with the Library of Alexandria because Ptolemy VIII Euergetes had oppressed all the friends and followers of Philometor, among them was Aristarchus of Samothrace, one of the Homeric scholars in the Library of Alexandria and Physkon's tutor. So, he resorted to Cyprus and stayed there until his death in 144 BC. We should not forget the Cypriot historian Aristos[73]. (200-150 BC) who benefitted everyone who wrote about Alexander the Great after him.

Strabo (the first century BC) said that Cyprus was at the head of all ancient Greek Islands in virtue. However, when he came to explain this part he concentrated on economic aspects and the geographical situation[74]. Yet, his discourse asserts the well-established truth now that Cyprus was an organic part of the Hellenistic world and its culture, which was not contradictory to some Oriental tendencies. That might take us back to Aeschylus' "Suppliants" (lines 288-289) when he referred to Cypriot women among the foreigners. The passage was greatly misunderstood and we have previously dealt with this issue in a research about "*Foreigners in Greek Tragedy*"[75].

There are many illustrations that show that the Hellenism of Cyprus was never disrupted. Since the Island's integration in the Greek world from the beginning, Cyprus has played a dominant role in that world on the political, economic and cultural levels. Cyprus

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(73) For more details about Aristos, see:
[Greek] Hatzioannou, vol I – Part A, pp. 326-329.
Compare with:
[Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Ancient Greek Literature*, pp. 453 ff.
———————, "The World of Books and Libraries in the Greco-Roman Period", the Kuwaiti Journal, *Al Bayan*, N. 167 (Feb. 1980), pp. 84-98.
———————, "*The Library of Alexandria and Its Cultural Role in Preserving the Classical Heritage and Flourishing the Literary Studies*," the Kuwait; Journal *AL Bayan*, No. 176 (Nov. 1980), pp. 80-195.

(74) Strabo, XIV 684, 6, 5.

(75) Cf. Ahmed Etman, "Foreigners in Greek Tragedy", Proceedings of the XII th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Munich: 1988 (Pub. 1990), Vol. 2, pp. 546-552.

participated in the national celebrations and festivals (Panhellenic), as sports competitions, specially the Olympic Games and the Panathenaea festivals. We know a great deal about the names of the Cypriots who have won in the Olympic Games (*Olympionika*) and also the names of supervisors (*theoroi*), i.e. the responsible Cypriots who receive delegations visiting different Greek cities to prepare for the organisation of the Olympic Games and other competitions. The delegations themselves were called "*theoroi*". The Cypriot athletes and other participants in such games used to have their training in the "*gynasion*", theatre buildings and the stadiums which were to be found everywhere in the cities of Cyprus, particularly in Salamis, Soloi, Lapithos, Arsinoe and Korion. Salamis gymnasium was discovered lately.

They have also lately discovered the temple of Apollo-Hylates (the wood protector) in Nea Paphos. This temple engraved in the rock consists of two halls in an underground level. Combining between Apollo and Hylates in one temple has a political significance. The monarch seeks through that combination to reflect the nature of contemporary Greek engraving which is apparent in the silver coin of Nikokles where Apollo sits on the Earth's navel, *Omphalos*, on the front side of the coin, whereas Aphrodite Polias, i.e. the protectress of the city, appears in a profile on the back of the coin.

The combination between Apollo and Aphrodite has deep roots in Cypriot politics and religion. As to the temple of Zeus in Salamis, it is of Corinthan style, whereas Apollo-Hylates temple in Curium had remained enjoying activity and vivacity from the Archaic Age until the Roman.

At the top of Caphysin hill near Nicosia there is a cave that was used as a temple in country rituals performed for one of the legendary brides, Nymphaion. Some vessels were found in the cave given as offerings and they belong to the third century BC. The deities of Egypt and the Ptolemies remained in Cyprus. Excavations discovered temples for Syrapes, Isis, Osiris, Amon and Harpocrates. The ruler-

commander was the High Priest in the worship of the Ptolemaic kings.

Sculpture flourished in Hellenistic-Ptolemaic Cyprus. Some Cypriot sculptors worked in Delphi, as Kallikles and Histiaios who both came from Salamis. Some of them lived in Lyndos in Rhodes. After the disappearance of the Athenian style, the Alexandrian and Pergamonian were the common ones then. One of the best works in Cypriot sculpture is the marble statue of Artemis from Citium which goes back to the second century BC. There is also a limestone head of a woman from Arsos, which reminds us of the Ptolemians queens (the third century). There is a frieze depicting the mythological battle of the Amazon aic found in Soloi and it goes back to the fourth century BC. As to the royal tombs of Larnaca, they copy the tombs of Alexandria, and indicate the wealth of worldly life as well as of the life to come.

It might be convenient to end our discourse about the Hellenic and Hellenisitc culture of Cyprus by talking about the founder of the Stoic school, Zeno, who lived in Citium from 335-263 BC. His father was a merchant called Mnaseas. Zeno himself started his life by working in trade, and at the age of thirty he turned to philosophy. There is a story that says he was aboard a ship carrying goods on its way to Athens. It was wrecked near Piraeus, but he was saved and settled in Athens. The Athenians used to call him "the Phoenician". It was he who founded the Stoic school of philosophy in Athens c. 301 BC. He had started by studying the philosophy of Socrates through the writings of Xenophon and then he turned to Antisthenes the Cynic stoic studying this philosophy with the Megarian Diodorus and Crates. The latter had the greatest influence on his life. After that, Zeno was tutored at the hands of Polemon in the Academy. He was also influenced by Stilpo and Xenokrates.

Zeno was tall, slim and very dark-skinned, with his head leaning on one of his shoulders. He used to dress in simple cheap kind of clothes, satisfied with some bread, figs, honey and little wine. His behaviour was that of a dignified person who seemed serious and distressed. However, he did not dislike to occasionally frequent places

of entertainment and joviality. When asked about that, he used to say that the nature of lupine is bitterness but if soaked in water, it would be tasty. Zeno preferred silence to talking, whereas the Athenians tended towards talking. It was reported that Zeno said in that context: "We only have one tongue, but two ears. We have to learn that we ought to listen more than talk". In his writings, Zeno was concise and brief, he did not care about rhetoric or style. He was brought up tending towards spontaneity and hating affectation or pretence. However, his coarse nature and rough speech among people who were fond of elegance and beauty did not prevent the great impact on his listeners. The ancients agreed that Zeno had good manners, and that his life – though simple – was always a good model and a supreme example of good conduct. That wise man attained a high degree of strong will, long patience, self-control, chastity and control over whims that astonished his contemporaries. The Athenians used him as an example or a testing measure of self-control and used his character proverbially saying: "He has more self-control than Zeno".

Zeno lived until he was 98, and when he died the Athenians officially mourned him. The people concerned issued a declaration in which they announced that he deserved the appreciation of his homeland to his services and his encouraging the youth towards virtue and wisdom. Therefore, he was granted a crown of gold and a grave in the burial ground of the great people.

At an early age he wrote The *Republic of the Wise* (*Politeia ton spoudaion*), which in some of its aspects gave the intellectual justification to the conquests of Alexander the Great and his aim, that is universal government and fraternity among human beings(76). Thus, Zeno gave the example followed by the Romans and others of the later founders of empires. Zeno's stoic republic was a Platonic utopia in tendency and flavour. Though it contained what could be contradicted with Plato and his principles, still it concentrates on Cynic principles and the earliest thoughts about "life according to nature" lived by the

(76) Plut. Alex. 27

stoic wiseman, known later on in Rome as "*ad naturam vivere*". The deities for Zeno were universal creatures and not Homeric anthropomorphic. They are the sun, the moon and the stars. They are deities that live in one cosmos with the humans (cosmopolis) where they share everything with them. Here we notice the impact of Babylonian astrology on Zeno. These Stoic principles stand for the natural divine law and cosmic justice that came as an ethical response to the alienated, despaired individual after the loss of the city-state (*Polis*) system and the autocracy of great powers, empowering smaller entities the foremost of which is the individual. In such circumstances there is no guide in this modern maze except turning to logic, love, freedom, reconciliation and such like Zeno's republic is governed by distinguished wisemen (*Spoudaioi*), followed by the others who depend on the wise. Though any one of those ordinary individuals is able to reach the apex of wisdom like the wisemen by training, practicing, perseverance and also by practicing virtue. Seeking virtue is in itself a virtue.

Zeno himself set an example to be followed as he led an austere modest life, working day and night in his researches and meditations, the things he considered a heavenly message he is committed to do. Diogenes Laertius wrote these lines describing Zeno:

Τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ' χειμὼν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὄμβρος ἀπείρων,
Οὐ φλὸξ ἠελίοιο δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνή,
Οὐχ' ὥς τις δήμου ἐναρίθμιος, ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀτειρὴς
'Αμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ τέταται νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ.[2]

Not even the bitter cold of winter nor the ever pouring rain,
Nor the heat of the rising sun or the incurable disease,
Nothing conquers him or diminishes his ability.
On the contrary, countless masses of people with great patience
Crawl to him, turning towards his tuition night and day[(77)].

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(77) See also:
Diog. Laert., VII, 27.
[Greek] Ahmed Etman, pp. 221 222, 257, 282, 286. =

(Diogenes, Laertius. VII 27)

Among Zeno's followers we have to refer to Perseus from Citium, as he was one of his disciples. Zeno had sent him to Antigonos Gonatas (320-239 BC), the king of Macedonia, in order to tutor his son and enlighten his people. That was in Cyprus, but outside the Island the followers of the stoic school of philosophy were too many to be counted here. Let us only refer to some of them as the Emperor of Rome, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), and Demonax (the second century AD) who was one of the most celebrated stoic philosophers. Demonax was a friend of Epictetus (50-138 AD). He was witty and satiric and was basically a *cynic* philosopher whose biography was written by Lucianus. Though he came from a wealthy family, yet he preferred to live in austerity and poverty. Some stoic philosophers go so far as to say he fasted and abstained from food until he died when he was about a hundred. As to his statement: "Lucky is the one who does not fear and does not hope", it is perhaps based on the inscription they found on Kazantzakis' tomb in Heraclea in Crete: "I fear nothing, I hope nothing; I am free"[78].

= [Greek] Sarros (*Kypriakai Spoudai*), pp. 64-77.
[Greek] IEE vol. E, pp. 291-301.
[Greek] Hatzioannou, Vol. 5, pp. 87-135.
About Zeno's fragments, see:
I.Ab Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*. Collegit Ioannes ab Arnim. Stutgardiae, Teubneri 1964.

(78) See: [Arabic] Ahmed Etman, "Kazantzakis, the Stealer of Fire, the Traveller into the World of Immortality". Cultural *Council*, Abu Dhabi: (October 1994), pp. 2-15. See also: [Arabic] Osman Amin, *The Stoic Philosophy*, Cairo: Egyptian Anglo, Third Ed., 1971. The following titles were ascribed to Zeno:

- *Republic. [Greek]*
- *Concerning Living according to Nature.*
- *Concerning Impulse Free or the Nature of man.*
- *Concerning Man's Passions.*
- *Concerning Duties.*
- *Concerning Law.*
- *Concerning Greek Education.*
- *Concerning Sight.*
- *Concerning All.*

Other successors of stoicism were Philolaus of Citium (first century AD) and Aristodemos the Cypriot (first-second centuries AD).

As to Seneca, the Roman poet-philosopher (4 BC – AD 65), he was the second person in importance after Zeno in the record of the Stoic school. He says about its Cypriot founder:

> *Nos certe sumus qui dicimus et Zenonem et Crysippum maiora egisse, quam si duxissent exercitus, gessissent honores, leges tulissent. Quas non uni civitati, sed toti humano generi tulerunt. Quid est ergo, quare tale otium non conveniat viro bono, per quod futura saecula ordinet nec apud paucos contionetur, sed apud omnis omnium gentium homines, quique sunt quique erunt? Ad summam quaero, an ex praeceptis suis vixerint Cleanthes et Chryslppus et Zenon. Non dubie responebis sic illos vixisse, quemadmodum dixerant esse vivendum.*
> *"Indeed, we can say that both Zeno and Chrysippus had achieved more things than they would have if they had led armies or held positions or set laws. It is because the principles they set were not for a certain nation, but for the whole of humanity. Therefore, why should not leisure time be convenient for the virtuous man through which he could master the coming generations, direct them, and address only only the limited number around him? He could also direct all human beings in other nations that exist now and those who will come later. Briefly speaking let me ask you:*

= • *Concerning Signs.*
- *Phythagorics.*
- *Colleges.*
- *"On Words"*
- *Five of the Homeric Problems.*
- *Concerning the Poetics of Listening.*
- *Technical Solutions.*
- *Two Queries.*
- *Memoirs*
- *The Ethics of Cratis*
- *Treatises.*
- *On the Art of Love.*

did each of Cleanethes, Chrysippus and Zeno live according to the teachings they called for? Undoubtedly, you will answer that indeed they lived according to the method that they said should be followed in life".

Seneca also mentioned the following:

Unum fuisse Homero servum, tres Platoni, nullum Zenoni, a quo coepit Stoicorum rigida ac virilis sapientia, satis constat.

"*It is well known that Homer had only one slave; Plato had three; but for Zeno, the founder of the strict, manly stoic school, he had not even one slave*"(79).

Dr Osman Amin concentrated on the impact of Zeno on Arab and Muslim philosophers, and referred to what was memorised by Shahrstan of many proverbs and wise sayings attributed to Zeno. The Shahrstani has mentioned many wise sayings taken from Zeno, and they are appropriate to what we know about his morals. Here we have some of them. Zeno saw a youth on the beach that seemed sad, seeking worldly life. So he asked him: "O young man, what is that which makes you desperate about the world? If you were quite wealthy and you find yourself in the middle of the sea, your ship was wrecked and you were about to be drowned, your ultimate goal would be safety and you would abandon all your property." He said: "Yes". Zeno said: "If you were a King on the whole world and you were surrounded by those who wish to kill you, your aim would be to be rescued from them?" He said: "Yes". Zeno said: "You are the wealthy person and the King now." Zeno was once asked: 'Which king is better: the king of the Greeks or that of the Persians?" He answered: "The one who is sovereign over his lust and his anger." When his son died and they mourned his death, he said: "I haven't lost him. I was begotten a son to die, and I wasn't begotten a son to live for ever". It was said to him

(79) Concerning Seneca and Stoicism, see references in:
[Greek] Etman, pp. 1-20.

once when he only possessed his day's food: "The King detests you." He answered: "How could the King love the one who is richer than him?"[80].

8- Roman Cyprus

In the battle of Actium (31 BC), Cleopatra VII was defeated and later committed suicide along with her lover Antony, who was her ally and husband. Egypt was turned then into a Roman province (*Provincia*). The same thing occurred to Cyprus which, like Egypt, had been subjected to the Roman power long before. Some Roman monarchs had had some responsibilities in Cyprus before annexing the Island officially to the Roman properties. P. Cornelius who was a consul and ruler of Kilikia and in 53 BC he received the title of the victorious commander (*imperator*). He was against Julius Caesar and was put to death after the battle of Pharsalus 48 BC. Lentulus Spinther stayed in Cyprus from 56 – 53 BC; while Appius Claudius Pulcher who was a consul and then a governor of Kilikia, then reached the position of a Censor and died in 48 BC, remained in Cyprus from 53-51 BC M. Tullius Cicero, the most reputed man of his age in literature and politics was in Cyprus from 51-50 BC Another Roman leader in Cyprus was C. Coelius[81]. (50 BC).

After Cyprus had become a Roman province, and in the administrative organisation introduced by Emperor Augustus who divided the provinces between himself and the Senate in 27 BC, Cyprus – along with Kilikia – came to be among the provinces annexed to Augustus, like Egypt. However, after 22 BC, it was joined to the provinces annexed to the Senate.

If we go back to Cicero and his writings about Cyprus, we will find that this intellectual and statesman attempted during his reign on

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(80) Osman Amin, op. cit

(81) [Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Latin Literature and its Cultural Role Until the End of the Golden Age*, 2nd ed., Cairo: Dar Al Ma'aref, 1995, *passim*.



Fig. No. (39)

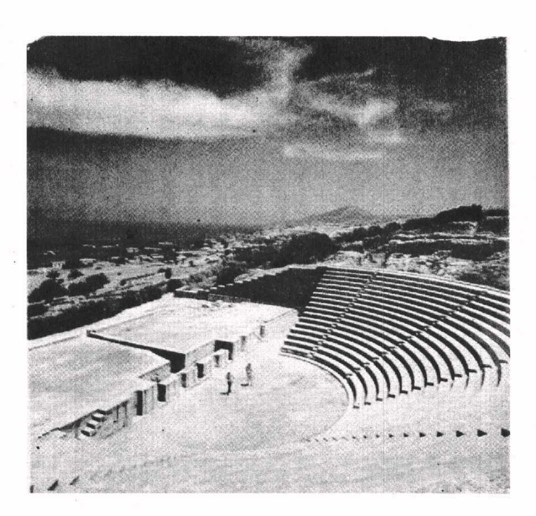


Fig No. (40)



Fig. No. (41)



Fig. No. (42)



Fig. No. (43)



Fig. No. (44)

the Island to reform what the predecessors had spoiled and to fight exploitation and blackmailing, specially what was done by M. Scaptius and P. Matinius, the followers and assistants of M. Brutus. This reminds us of what Cicero did in Sicily and his speeches against Verres. Even Cato Uticensis (great-grandson of Cato the Censor), made use of his visit to Cyprus with Brutus to establish a relationship of a profitable commercial and financial investment there. After his return to Rome 56 BC, Brutus obtained a big loan for the interest of the people of Cypriot Salamis against the law of Gabinius who prohibited foreigners in Rome to get loans.

Moreover, it was Cicero who advised C. Sextilius Rufus – the first treasury official (*quaestor*) in Cyprus – to treat the people of the Island well and to pay special attention to the city of Paphos. Cicero gave this piece of advice while on his way[82] to start his work in Cyprus and induced him to adhere to principles and to introduce reformations.

Cyprus remained for three centuries under the Roman domination in stillness and tranquillity despite some booming periods. The Island was considered an open land and its inhabitants as "surrendered enemies" who were turned into tax or tribute payers. No Cypriot city was granted the Roman citizenship (*Civitas*). The members of the parliament (*boulai*) were appointed from ex-governmental officials for life by the Roman Censor. The parliament was headed by the magisterate (*archon*) who was annually elected from the members. In fact, that position was occupied by two persons, according to the duality of positions, a Roman model that remained until the Byzantine ages. The two magistrates were assisted by two treasury officials (*quaestores*) and two public affairs observers (*agoranomoi= aediles*). In Salamis there was the Senate (*gerousia = senatus*). We have a list of 59 Proconsuls who worked in Cyprus from the beginning of 58 BC to the beginnings of the third century AD. The Proconsul in Cyprus enjoyed wide responsibilities which comprised

(82) Cicero, Ad. Fam, XIII 48; Ad. Att., V 21, VI, 1, 5-7; ii 7-3.

judicial affairs, "the right of the sword" (*ius gladii*), i.e. the right to put to death. Proconsuls represented the Roman Senate and the Emperor and were selected from the Senate hierarchy. As to their assistants as the treasury officials (*quaestores*) and the deputies (*legati*), they sometimes replaced the proconsuls. We know eight names of the deputies and fourteen of the treasury officials who took office in Cyprus.

Following the Emperor's powers at the expense of the tasks of the Senate, a supreme governor or agent (*procurator*) was appointed for Cyprus. The first to hold that position was Statilius T. Apollinarius whose responsibilities included Pisidia, Kilikia, Pamphylia, and Cyprus. Fl-Glaucus, the Proconsul of Cyprus (c. 180-220 AD) also held the same position, as well as Patrocles son of Boethos who occupied the position in the reign of Hadrian (117 – 138 AD). However, the procurator only enjoyed some local tasks associated with the gymnasium in Salamis and the public territory (*ager publicus*) in this city where the properties of Nikokreon were confiscated by the Ptolemies, then once again by the Romans. They were distributed among the veterans, occupiers of the property and buyers. There was also a supervisor for the minerals as the copper mines in Soloi. It was the supervisor there that allowed Galenus, the most celebrated physician of Alexandria to visit Soloi in 166 AD.

Generally speaking, we can say that under the Roman occupation Cyprus still kept its ancient Greek nature including the names and the twelve cities into which the Island had been divided since ancient times, and the country life based on small agricultural properties. That Roman stance of Greek Cyprus conforms to their general attitude towards Greek civilization that enjoyed all reverence and respect. In Roman Cyprus the middle-class was formed of the simple Cypriot community, that is from farmers, small land owners, the cities proletariat, specially in Salamis, the contractors in mining villages and the ceramic-makers in the country-side. Underneath this class there was an abundant number of slaves working in mines, some of whom accumulated wealth and bought their freedom and became

wealthy freedmen.

The Cypriot oligarchy or the small group governing the country adapted themselves to the Roman governing system. We observe that in the loyalty vow of Tiberius when he ascended the throne in 14 AD. The text of the vow was found in an inscription near Paleo Paphos including the following:

> We vow by our goddess Aphrodite at the head land, our virgins, our god Apollo Hylates and our god Apollo of Kyrenia, our rescuing gods Dioskouroi and our goddess of the hearth for the whole Island, Hestia. We vow in the parliament by our deities and those of our fathers and the whole of the Island, we vow with our children to be loyal to Tiberius Caesar Augustus, to worship him ... and to have the same friends and enemies he has ... and to be greatly loyal to his blood offspring, to them alone with the other deities[83].

Though during his lifetime Augustus rejected deification, the Cypriots like the rest of the Roman Provinces of the East actually worshipped him as they had formerly worshipped the Ptolemies who had implanted that Eastern tradition, the worship of the ruler. Thereupon, we find in Cyprus references to "Augustus Zeus Caesar" and Livia the "thea Nea Aphrodite". We also find the temple of Emperor Traianos as Apollo Caesar in the temple of Apollo Hylates in Curium.

There were attempts to Romanize Cyprus as indicated by the recent archeological discoveries in Kato Paphos where a Roman palace was found, its floor was decorated with mosaic that takes its scenery from the myth of Leda, Dionysus and Marsyas. In Kato Paphos as well the 'house of Hercules' was discovered, and it goes back to the second century AD. Its floor is decorated with exquisite mosaic. Some other aspects of Romanization were the rebuilding of Curium

(83) See: JRS, L (1960) pp. 75-76.

theatre in 200 AD, and the erection of an amphitheater in Salamis for the gladiators' fights. In Salamis also in the third century AD the theatre was rebuilt, the one which had been built by Pancles Veranianus during the first century AD to present the naval battles and to take fifteen thousand spectators. Servius Solpicius Pancles received special honours in Cyprus due to establishing a theatre, an amphitheater, and a Roman bath in Salamis. These honours appeared on many Cypriot inscriptions. Pancles was a patron of the arts and theatrical competitions, and he was also the head of the gymnasium and a referee in sports tournaments (*agonothetes*) all his life. He granted constant gifts to save olive oil for the gymnasium, the games, and the festivals. His friends made statues to commemorate him.

In Carpassia Nicolaus Philocaesor in 46/47 AD was the High Priest supervising the deification of the emperors (Tes Athanasias ton Sebaston). In Kiti T. Claudius Nicopolinus Hipparchos held the title of the High Priest of deified Emperors and the sacred Senate for life. Tiberius Clausius Mnasieas enjoyed the title of High Priest for the Emperors and Rome in the middle of the first century AD.

In contrast to what happened in Asia, the disappearance of the cult of Rome after the appearance of the cult of Emperors, this kind of worship remained and was attached with the worship of Emperors until the end of the first century AD. We have illustrations about that from Curium, Citium and Salamis. In Paleo Paphos, there were two families that controlled cults and religious life for many generations. In 14/15 AD, Tiberius Claudius Rhodocles, son of Rhodocles, served as a High Priest of the whole of Cyprus in the worship of god Augustus Caesar. In 18/19 AD, the same person bearing the name Stasikrates, was the referee in tournaments (agonothetes). As to Claudia Rhodocleia Appharion, she combined between the two families in her traits, that of Rhodocles and Teucros. Claudia Ummidius Pantauchus was the High Priestess of Demeter in the whole of Cyprus under the rule of Claudius (41-54 AD), Nero (56/68 AD), and Domitianus (81-96 AD). In 35 AD, Amyntor of Paphos was the High Priest for life of the family of Augustus as a successor to Plous, the philosopher High Priest

for life of god Emperor Caesar Augustus. The festival for his victory at Actium was celebrated in 31 BC by holding sports tournaments and horse races in Lapethos.

In 18 AD, a sacred sports tournament was started in Paphos to be held every five years. It was a national Cypriot occasion, that is for all Cypriots, and to honour and celebrate Germanicus the nephew of Tiberius, i.e. Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus.

Other games were set for Emperor Nero (54-68 AD) at the end of his reign, though we do not know the deity to whom the games were held every five years in Citium from the middle of the first century AD. Between 196 and 198 AD, Nea Paphos granted a temple to S. Severus (193-211 AD), and Caracalla (AD 211-213). It seems that the cult of Iulia Augusta, i.e. Livia, in Citium was an official cult as we have a statue for her with some fragments from Curium. In this city there is a temple for Apollo Hylates that goes back to AD 65/66 during the reign of Nero, who was greatly attracted to that deity and its music. In AD 64/65, and through his emissary Quintus Iulius Cordos, the Proconsul, the city theatre was rebuilt and it included a temple for the Nymphs (*Nymphaeum*) at the beginning of the first century AD. It was perhaps rebuilt in the reign of Traianos (AD 98-117) after the destructive earthquake that ruined it in AD 76. There is an inscription that says what signifies that it was built by the High Priest the Emperor. The inscription might refer to Traianos himself. As to the third stage in the temple, it goes back to the third century AD. It now comprises a large hall with a coloured geometrical floor, after the total damage due to the 370 AD destructions and then its restoration and rebuilding on new bases that give a clear sign of the beginning of the pure Christian era .AD 410. The era extends to AD 650. The Roman market (*Forum*) in Curium goes back to the time of the dynasty of Severus (193-235 A.D.). It had been destroyed in the AD 370 earthquake, and was rebuilt in the form of an early Christian basilica[84].

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(84) Kyrris, op. cit, pp. 146-159.

In the Roman period, the Greek language remained the official language in Cyprus to the extent that the Proconsul used to issue his resolutions in Greek. Likewise, all official legal documents kept in the city registers (*bibliophylaka*) and even the inscriptions of the Emperors were in Greek. This is illustrated in the inscription on an altar offered by Emperor Titus (79-81 A.D.), and his brother Domitian (81-96 A.D.) to Aphrodite of Paphos. Nonetheless, Latin was used in road signs during the preparation of roads. In the second and third centuries A.D, bilingual signs appeared, and when Constantine the Great (306-337 A.D.) reigned, he imposed Latin on all official documents. This language was used before his age in Cyprus on stones of graves built for Roman soldiers. Likewise, it was used in the presentations given by Roman and official citizens living in cities as Paleo Paphos, Neo Paphos and Salamis. Latin was also found on stands of statues offered by Cypriots to the Emperors and public buildings financed by them, as Nero's Theatre in Curium, though in such cases the two languages were often adjacent. It is said that the Cypriot Greek national district had grown in the Roman period, therefore, the Cypriot union (*Koinon Kyprion*) was revived about 30/29 BC. The declared aim of its revival was to offer praise to the Archon ruler in Salamis who was then Moschos, son of Moschos the Elder. Later, it was noticed that the patrons of that community gave presents lavishly to all the Island. For example, Patrokles and Apollonia from Paphos were the founders of the temple of 'Good Luck' (*Tychaeon*) at the beginning of the second century, and they were the priests for life of goddess Fortuna. In AD 19, the members of the *Koinon Kyprion* congratulated Rodocles of Paphos – the former High Priest in the regions for the cult of Augustus – for serving as a referee in tournaments (*agonothetes*) in the first national Cypriot tournament held on the Island to pay homage to Nero Claudius Drusus Claudius Germanicus (brother of Emperor Tiberius AD 14-37). The tournament for the National Cypriot games was held in Paphos, the Capital, and was associated with loyalty to Rome. Therefore, it could be stated that the Roman rule culturally and politically supported the unity of the Island. This is represented in the statue made for Emperor Hadrian (AD 117-137) in Athens in AD 138. The two persons who put it were delegates; the first was Gaius Julius

Rufus who had come from an ancient family of Paphos, and the second was Kleagenes junior, who was a prominent athlete from Salamis. The Cypriot Union had another task to do, which contributed in unifying the Island. It was supervising the minting of coins, specially in Paphos. The coin bore the inscription "*Koinon Kyprion*" inside a bay wreath, for the union celebrated the games and festivals of the Island.

In an inscription that belongs to the third century AD found in Lapethos, we learn that Leontichus, the Roman citizen, was one who did a great deal for the welfare of the city. He was the father of the Island's Consul, Claudius Leontichus Illyrius (middle of the third century AD). He rebuilt the walls of Lapethos and built the Phalerian fortifications in Athens to prevent Gothic invasion (AD 235). He occupied the position of Proconsul in the fortifications of Achaea. He represents a rare case of a pure Cypriot who was lucky enough to be granted such honour and high positions in the Roman Empire.

In Roman Cyprus, Bacchius of Tryphon in Paphos, who was a Platonic tutor and taught Marcus Aurelius, became prominent. There was also Demetrius of Salamis, the reputed athlete at the beginning of the third century AD, who got the first prize in the games organised in each of Anazarbus, Tarsus, Antioch and Smyrna, in addition to his achievements in sports in Salamis itself, his native city. There were also two Cypriot musicians who achieved worldwide acclaim: the first was Euphemus, the solo flute player (*Pythaules*) and the choral (*Choraules*) player. The second was P. Aelius Aelianus of Salamis, a solo flute-player whose reputation spread when he played in Rome, Naples, Nicopolis, Smyrna, Athens, Nemea and Argos. Since the end of the first century till the middle of the second, the Cypriot Demonaktas had lived, though Lucianus did not mention exactly his birth place, but he did mention that Demonaktas was the Cypriot philosopher; Diogenes, the Cynic; and Aristippus belonged to the Cyrenaic School.

The public and private buildings in Nea Paphos indicate the presence of a highly fine taste and remarked wealth in Roman Cyprus. This is most noticeable in the Odeon, the market-place (forum), the

temple of Asclepius, the theatre, and a number of Roman villas where we fine floor decorated with multi-coloured mosaic depicting scenes of Greek myths. In "Dionysus Home", there are twenty halls around two courts decorated with a fountain taken from the legendary life of Dionysus. That grand building could be the Praetorium or the palace of the Roman sovereign in the third century AD, but remained in use until the fifth century. During this period the first bath for the child Achilles, the Greek hero of heroes in the *Iliad* was depicted. The same scene could have been renovated after the earthquake of AD 370, which destroyed Paphos and Curium.

The Jews stayed in Cyprus, as they stayed in Crete, in Greek territories, in Asia Minor and Kyrene, since the middle of the second century BC. That was through the help of Rome and its anti-Hellenic ally, i.e. the Hasmonaean dynasty and the Maccabaean high priest of Jerusalem. The Jews made use of the internal Ptolemaic contentions and the Idumaean dynasty-half-Jewish and half-Nabataean were able to blend Hellenism with Judaism, and to give no chance to Cyprus. So in 12 BC, Augustus sold the privilege of exploiting the copper mines in the Island to Herod the Great, on the condition that half the revenue would go to the Emperor[85]. Though the Jews were not in disagreement with the Cypriots before AD 115, and though Cyprus was not robust in the Christian resistant movement against Rome in Egypt and Kyrene (AD 66-70) and though it realised some success at its beginning, it did not escape the consequences.

There was a similar movement in Mesopotamia and Palestine. It started by a row between a Greek and a Jew. The Parthian king, Chosroes, supported such movement. The Jewish revolt movements in Cyprus during the reign of Artemion reached many Greeks and Romans and they destroyed Salamis. The Jews exploded in wild fury as they had done in Egypt. However, the number of victims mentioned

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(85) About a similar attitude the Jews had with Cleopatra, see: [Arabic] Ahmed Etman, *Cleopatra* and *Antony*, pp. 173-179.

by Dio Cassius[86] - twenty –four thousand– is perhaps an exaggeration. Nevertheless, the figure mentioned indicates the enormous number of people killed in a city like Salamis that was heavily populated then, which is also concluded from the water supply (*Aqueduct*) built there by Nero. The figure also refers to the huge number of Jews living in Salamis at that time. The Jewish revolt movement was so grave that the Empire's army came from Parthia, Pannonia and other places to curb it.

The resoration of the ruined part of the gymnasium in Salamis by Traianus (AD 116/117) and the statue set for Hadrian in the same city in AD 130, have all to be associated with the Emperors assistance to Salamis after the destruction that befell the city in AD 115/116. The city was encouraged through that attention of the Empire and demanded to be the Metropolis of the whole of Cyprus. That was obvious in the inscriptions on the statues of AD 123. Perhaps Hadrian's visit to Salamis (and Lapethos) was the motivation behind setting statues for him in the city. He was on his way to Antioch where he settled between June AD 129 and the spring of 130. Traianus had also visited Salamis in AD 113 on his way to Syria and the Parthian war. Nevertheless, the visits of those two Roman monarchs to Salamis contrasts Titus's visit to Paphos in AD 69, again on his way to Syria. The latter confiscated the treasury of the Temple of Aphrodite in Paphos and the temple's priest, Sostratos, prophesied a great future for him! Perhaps the title Flavia granted to Paphos was a reward from Vesbasianus to Sostratos and his phophecy, which helped the dynasty to ascend the throne. Paphos had been subjected to an earthquake in AD 77 or 78, and its relation with the Emperor's family goes back to AD 15 when the city was re-built under the name of Augusta, i.e. the city of Augustus. Its famous temple was also rebuilt. This is shown on the coins struck by the Cypriot Union (*Konion Kyprion*) in its headquarters in Paleo Paphos, which was the same residence of Emperor Caracalla (AD 211-217) when he first came to Cyprus.

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(86) Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 2, 2-3.

Cyprus had made use of Roman Peace (*Pax Romana*) and that was clearly noticed in Nea Paphos, the Capital, from the first century BC. In the summer of AD 46, the most important event in the history of Cyprus took place when St. Paul, St. Barnabas and his nephew, St. Mark met in Nea Paphos. The three of them were Greek Jews living in the Diaspora, and they held a meeting with the Proconsul Sergius Paulus. The meeting was ended by converting the latter to Christianity after the miracle of Bar yesus Elymas, the soothsayer who had a school for divination next-to the temple of Aphrodite in Paleo Paphos[87].

Thus, Cyprus registered the first victories of the new religion in the high ruling class in the Roman Empire. That happened at the end of the first organised missionary mission outside Jerusalem, which opened a new age for the annunciation of Christianity for all peoples. As to the disorganised precedents of introducing Christianity to Cyprus, we can refer to the preaching given by the "Disciples" soon after AD 33 in Cyprus. In the same year, some missionaries – of Cypriot origin– started teaching Christianity in Antioch.

The first three messengers started with the Jews of Cyprus, then they expanded their call to contain the pagans. Gradually, Christianity spread in Cyprus. The second visit made by Barnabas and Mark was more effective and fertile, in spite of the wild reaction of local Jews which eventually led to the martydoms of Barnabas in Salamis. This was the first brick in building Cypriot apostolic Church, which with the passage of time became the national institution expressing the Greek-Cypriot community since that date to the present time. It was the Church that created the link between the Christian and the Greek worlds. As to the form and the contents, the new religion adapted itself to what had been prevailing in Cyprus. Therefore, we find a cultural resumption for Cypriot nationalism within this religion in spite of a deep upheaval in conviction accompanied with a violent struggle and a bitter oppression.

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(87) C.P. Kyrris, "St. Barnabas and St. Paul in Cyprus" Stasinos, [Greek], 21-23.

The situation is clearly illustrated in the language as the local syllabic Cypriot language was used until about the third century BC. Then the vernacular Greek language (*Koine*) prevailed and it was the language of the Hellenistic period. It after a long struggle and in a persistent way, ultimately replaced the ancient Cypriot dialect. (c. 50 BC) Thus, Cyprus became more associated with the wider Greek world. From the common Hellenistic language (*Koine*) in Cyprus, the Cypriot Greek evolved in the Byzantine and Middle Ages until the Modern Age. Nowadays the Greek Cypriot language enjoys a distinguished flavour and has features and characteristics that are purely Cypriot. However, it carries the traces of the long linguistic heritage extending through thousands of years BC. It combines between the Phoenician, the ancient Egyptian languages and that of the Mycenaean age, in addition to the Christian background mixed with hellenism.

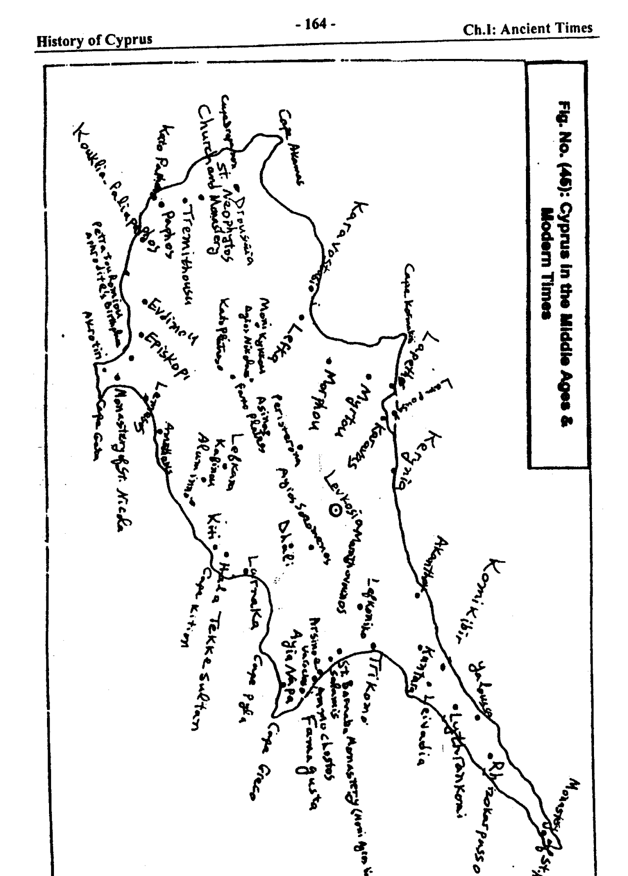


Fig. No. (46): Cyprus in the Middle Ages & Modern Times

CHAPTER II

CYPRUS IN THE BYZANTINE AND MIDDLE AGES

"... Insulam Cyprum quae est inter Graecos et Sarcenos." (Willibald)
"...the Island of Cyprus situated between the Romans and the people of the East." (Willibald)
[Greek]

"... Κυπριοι μεθοριοι της τε Ρωμαικης και της των Σαρακηνων εξουσιας".
(Νικολαος Μυστικος)

"... the Cypriots are on the borders between the Roman State and the state of the Orientals." (From a letter of Nicolas Mysticos to the Caliph)



Fig. No. (46)

1- Byzantine Cyprus

The Roman period for Cyprus was a flourishing epoch and that is illustrated through the Roman monuments discovered on the Island, whether in Salamis, Curium, Lapethos or others, as the drinking water aqueducts, for example, that extended from Kythrea to Salamis built by Septimius Severus. For Rome, Kyprus was a fulcrum and a platform for the campaigns of the Roman army in the Near East. However, the Island had remained safe from external attacks. It is proved now that Cyprus was not subjected to the Gothic invasion (268/269 AD) which reached the Greek territories, the Cyclades Islands, Crete and Rhodes. The most important consequence of the Roman rule in Cyprus was the transition into the Byzantine Age through the gradual change of the Roman Empire into Hellenism after transferring the capital from Rome to Constantinople.

This was the Situation in Cyprus and the other Eastern States, until Constantine the Great (c. AD 288-337) declared Christianity to be the official religion of the Empire. Constantine did not take an antagonistic stance of the Cypriots who supplied his rival, Licinius, with naval aids during the civil war that ended with the defeat of Licinius in AD 324. On the contrary, both Constantine and his mother Helena started to show a great interest in the Island, which had been annexed to the Praetor ruler of he Orient (*Prafectus Praetorio Orientis*) whose residing place was Antioch since Diocletian constitution in AD 293.

Since 331 AD, Cyprus had been included among the Oriental part or the Retinue of the Orient (*Comes Orientis*)[1], along with

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(1) The word 'comes' in ancient Latin means the 'companion', the 'attendant', or the 'educator'; but in the following ages, it acquired new meanings as the 'retinue' and similar titles used to describe the person who accompanied the ruler or Emperor and the person who had some responsibilities. Also see: Wesam Abd' El-Aziz Farag, "Governmental Titles and offices in Byzantium Between Continuance and interruption", The Third Annual of the Egyptian society of Greek and Roman Studies, AESGRS Vol. III Cairo: 1998, pp. 295-339.

Thrace, Pontus, Egypt and Libya. Between 365-386 AD, Libya and Egypt were separated to form a *Diocese*[2], which is an independent administrative region, while Cyprus remained among the Comes Orientis. This included Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia, Kilikia, Isauria, and the Arab territories. Following that, Justinian set up a smaller *quaestorship* (*quaestura exercitus*) that had an authority over Moesia (Serbia and vast territories around it), Scythia, the islands of the Aegean Sea, Caria and Cyprus, so as it would facilitate sending military supplies to the Thracian borders. Until 649 the ruler of Cyprus had the title 'Consularis' or '*praeses vir clarissimus*' ('*Hypatikos*' in Greek), assisted by the Comes Orients or the Emperor, or by a recommendation from his. As far as we know, the first Byzantine ruler in Cyprus was Antistius Sabinus.

The military importance of Cyprus conforms to its political and ecclesiastic role. Since the reign of Constantine, a colony for some selected forces was established most probably in Tillyria. He suppressed the revolt started by Kalokairus, this was complished by the nephew of Emperor Dalmatius (AD 332-333). In 578, in the reign of Justin II, 3350 Armenian citizens were distributed all over Cyprus as protectors and small property owners. In the age of Justinian the Great, his wife Theodora – said to be of Cypriot-Greek origin– appointed the bishop of Edessa, Jacob Burdana who believed in the one nature of Christ (monophysis) as a Censor of Asia Minor, Rhodes, Cyprus ... etc. This indicates that the idea of the one nature of Christ existed in Cyprus then, i.e. since AD 542.

At that time, Cyprus was subjected to a series of earthquakes, in AD 332 and 342, so Salamis was razed to the ground and was reconstructed on a vaster area. It also had another name, Constantia, and replaced Paphos as a Capital of Cyprus. Then, since AD 346 it had become the residing place of the bishop of Cyprus and the archbishop of the whole island, which means it became the Metropolis. After these

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(2) The Latin word diocese is derived from a Greek origin, which is (Dioikesis) that is administration. Compare with the fore going footnote.

series of earthquakes, Cyprus regained its strength and started building ships once more in AD 354. The Island witnessed a boom at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries AD. Many superb and well-decorated basilicas were built all over the Island.

We have to mention the visits paid by Empress Helena Flavia Julia, the mother of Emperor Constantine the Great. It was said she discovered the crucifix in a tomb in Jerusalem and some of the wood from which the original cross was made she visited Cyprus when she was on her way to the Holy Lands in Palestine, or on her way back from there. Such visits of the Empress, as well known in the Cypriot and Palestinian traditions, led to the building of a number of churches and monasteries decorated by parts of the holy cross. Many emigrants from Cyprus came back home. They had been forced to leave the country because of the drought, famine, and many other evils, with them, a number of Greek citizens came along and they had a perceptible influence in developing Greek script, as revealed through the inscriptions which followed the second visit in AD 327.

It is mentioned in some sources that when Helena visited Cyprus, it was inhabited by people and not deserted as mentioned in other sources. On the contrary, the modern archeological and historical studies prove that Cyprus was flourishing at the beginning of the fourth century AD, and remained so until the earthquakes of AD 332 and 342. Perhaps there was some disruption in the flourishing procession due to the earthquakes and what they caused of drought and famine. In fact, Cyprus had been a main station for travellers to Christian holy lands in Palestine, specially for those coming from the north and the north-west. Therefore, the visits of Helena to Cyprus could be a historical fact and did not come out of people's imagination, as some believe. However, the visits were certainly not as depicted by the prevailing popular tradition which went as far as saying that some pieces of wood of the original holy cross were brought to Cyprus. The story had started in the European West since the end of the fourth century AD, and represented the sacred semi-mythical halo of light that surrounded the Empress-Mother Helena who emerged out of

pagan darkness with the light of Christianity in April AD 326. She went to the Holy Lands to build a basilica. There is nothing that can prevent the assumption that Helena did construct some Christian buildings in Cyprus as an extension to her general policy and her well-known tendency, during her routine visits to the Island.

It might be logical, as Kyrris[3] says, to suppose that after the Nicaea Council was held, the Cypriots attempted to strengthen their ecclesiastical independence based on the ecclesiastical legislation (*Canons*) agreed upon during the fourth, fifth and the sixth centuries AD. They made use of the contention between bishop Eustathius, the bishop of Antioch, and Emperor Constantine after the bishop's insult to Helena during her visit to the East (AD 326-327). It ended by removing and exiling Eustathius. Both Eusebius (AD 260-340) the bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, and Eusebius the bishop of Nicomedia (Capital of Bithynia in Asia Minor) had accused him of following the doctrines of Origen (AD 185-254) and Origenism. The Cypriots made use of this opportunity to fabricate or yarn some stories about Helena's visits to Cyprus, and made of these stories the main topic or the axis for the Cypriot ecclesiastical tradition. In this way, they showed their closeness to the Emperor and his mother, which caused a great upsurge in the progress of Christianity.

In May AD 325, Cyprus sent a large delegation to the first ecumenical council in Nicaea. The council witnessed a severe argument about Christianity. The contribution of Bishop Spyridon of Tremithus was effective in the wording of the theological document declared in the council. That effective contribution was the starting point in confirming Cyprus's intimate association with the Orthodox creed until today. If we add to that the role of Cyprus in the war against Licinius (AD 314-316) and Helena's visits to the Island, we could refute the claim that Cyprus was uninhabited before AD 326.

One of the important results of the first ecumenical council in

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(3) Kyrris, op. cit., p. 162.

Nicaea was that it consolidated the metropolitan position of the ecclesiastical administration in Cyprus based on its independence. The sixth term (*canon*) included what confirmed and reiterated the judicial authority of metropolitan Churches in each of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, so as its power could cover more and vaster fields than it had covered before. The Cypriots took that term to mean that it would consolidate the independence of their Church, in spite of the claims of the Church of each of Antioch, Syria, Kilikia, and Mesopotamia that they had authority over the Church of Cyprus. Therefore, the latter began a long and powerful campaign against these claims. In AD 343-344, Cyprus sent a big delegation to Sardica council, including twelve bishops among them were Spyridon and Triphyllius from Ledra (Lidir) – Nicosia. The official attitude of the Cypriot ecclesiastical delegation was to support Athanasius the Alexandria Origenist and the bishopric See (diocese) in Rome and Constans (Romania?). Their power extended in the West from Milan against Arius who was supported by Constantine II. Only the Cypriot ecclesiastical delegation among the Metropolitan Oriental Churches signed the resolution of that council. On this occasion, the position of Rome at the front was asserted once more, for in AD 341 the matter had been presented for the first time in the council of Antioch and it was rejected. The latest council, however, was inclined towards Arian doctrines, reference to Arius who was of Libyan origin and lived between AD 260 and 336, and was condemned in the Council of Nicaea in AD 325 for his doctrines which call for heresy. He was then acquitted in AD 335, thanks to the defense of Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia. The Cypriot church then started to launch its long battle for its independence from Antioch and for the interest of Orthodoxy.

That attitude brought Cyprus closer to Western not Eastern Christianity. There was the victory of Constans and the Orthodoxy in Sardica which was also a victory for the Cypriots who could not but agree about the message of the Western bishops in the council addressed to Constantine, asking him to prevent any interference from the civil authorities in the affairs of the Church. This is a thorny topic that has been disturbing the public from then till now, though the

matter is not confined to Cyprus or to Christianity alone.

It is evident that those who followed the Monophysitic creed (that Jesus had only one nature), who were called Akephaloi, were of Cypriot origin. They remained in Cyprus until the reign of Constantine IV Pogonatus (AD 668-685), otherwise, what for was the Archbishop's speech of Constantia (Arcadius II) against the leader of the Akephaloi sect? It happened that in AD 533 and the following year one of the leaders of Monophysism occupied the See of Constantia Church, we mean Philoxrnos, the bishop of Dolikhe in Syria.

The reason was that Philoxenos as well as others had turned to Orthodoxy in AD 532 and he was rewarded by being appointed the bishop of Cyprus and then a little later he became the Island's archbishop. Philoxenos, the bishop of Constantia, shared in setting Severus as the Patriarch of Antioch in AD 512. However, it is more likely that Philoxenos had not totally abandoned his former Monophysistian beliefs, and that he secretly encouraged that tendency in Cyprus. The mosaic of Theotokos in Mandrola in a temple of a monastery in Panagia Lathrankomi in Kanakaria was interpreted to be an expression of the official Chalkedonian theological teachings based on the dual nature of Christ united in one nature. It was the version accepted by the council of Constantinople in AD 536, and this version was considered the Cypriot answer or reaction to Baradeus's Monophystic teachings.

Cypriot folk tales mentioned a "vision" that had occurred in AD 488. Anthemius had presented a letter of the works of St. Mark or St. Matthew found in the tomb of St. Barnabas to the Emperor of Byzantium, Zeno, who had granted him and his successors the privileges of an empire. This included donning a red cap of the Empire in official occasions, carrying an empire's scepter and signing in red ink. That was like an official confirmation of the independence of the Cypriot Church, established on apostolic basis. It was an exceptional relationship in the history of the Cypriot Church whose power extended and its role increased in the cultural, political, religious and

worldly affairs. The miraculous interference of St. Barnabas affirmed that the Cypriot Church was apostolic and stood equal to Antioch Church.

One of the most important bishops of Constantia was Epiphanius (AD 310-403), born in Eleutheropolis in Palestine. He was a great intellectual and a man of letters who made a tangible contribution in the theological controversy prevalent at that time. He organised a council in Constantia to condemn Origen at a request from Theophilus the Origenist in AD 401. He launched a violent attack against St. Chrysostomos in Constantinople. He had perhaps joined the second ecumenical council held in the same place in AD 381 and quickly left it to Rome to join another local council. Epiphanius considered the second council and its resolutions as the foundation of the creed he built on his conviction and inserted it at the end of his book *Ankyrotos* (Without Anchor) 374. His creed is basically established on the texts of Nicaea council, which he completed and improved by adding words and phrases from the Bible and the classics. This creed was presented in the second council in Constantinople either through the speech of Epiphanius himself, or through other Cypriot bishops who were contributing in the council after his departure to Rome. What is important is that the "creed" of Epiphanius, the archbishop of Cyprus, was met with reverence by all the participants in the council. This is a good evidence that he was a unique theological thinker who could achieve for the Cypriot church a respectable position among the ecumenical councils. He passed away aboard the ship that was taking him from Constantinople to Cyprus, not very far from the coast. A Basilican Church was established to honour him in Constantia, and they still hold ceremonies on 12 May to commemorate his achievements until now.

Epiphanius contacts were extensive with monks, heads of monasteries, priests, metropolitan archbishops and even with humble Christians in Arabia, Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and others. He exchanged letters with all of them about profane and sacred matters. These correspondences reached us in the

above mentioned book *Without Anchor* (*Ankyrotos*) addressed to the people of Pamphylia in AD 374, and Panarion (AD 375). It was addressed to the monks in Syria in AD 376 and was known as the "Medical box" for the treatment of eighty heretic doctrines. Ephiphanius hated blending pagan Hellenic culture with Christianity and hated icons. Therefore, he equally rejected the followers of Origen-Makarios. His journeys extended in time and place across the Christian world, specially in his successful battles against heresy in his confrontation with the followers of Origen and Arius in particular. He mastered five languages, and most probably Arabic was one of them. It was natural for him, being born and raised in Palestine, and then travelled to many Arab countries including Egypt. His travels bestowed upon him a great deal of attraction on the international level, and that helped Cyprus in its demands against the claims of Antioch. Epiphanius's friendship with Athanasius, the head of the Origenist school had a special importance in confronting Meletius of Antioch in particular. The latter's rival, Paulinus, was supported by them. This contention put Cyprus in the ecclesiastic Alexandrian-Romanian camp against Antioch whose expectations were also against the rising Church of Jerusalem. That helped in asserting the independence of Cyprus at a time when many regional bishoprics were swallowed by Metropolitan churches, some of which started to develop, turning later on to the Patriarchates in AD 451. It happened when the common tendency was towards treating the church as if it were a state containing institutions. That was between AD 365 and 386.

During that epoch, Cyprus remained part of the Orient's dukedom in juxtaposition with Arabia, Mesoptamia, Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Kilikia and Isauria. This signifies that it was separated from the dukedom of Egypt that annexed Libya. Epiphanius's contribution in the council of Rome in AD 382 had assisted in rejecting and refuting the views of Pope Damasus (AD 366-384) of the "Acts" of the second ecumenical council in Constantinople in AD 381, which refers to Antioch. That stance did not prevent the Cypriot bishops from signing the part concerning the instructions in the "Acts" of the council that supported the independence of Cyprus in

its second term (Canon) by recognising all Metropolitan, i.e. independent, Churches. Epiphanius's relations with monks and hermits in Egypt, Syria, the North of Africa and the West of Asia had helped in exchanging views among the three continents through Cyprus[4]. Since that date, the Cypriot Church has gained increasing strength and steady force, which will be evident in the following ages during the Arab, Lusignan, Venetian, and Ottoman campaigns. The contribution of the Cypriot Church in the ecumenical councils was active and for the interest of settled Orthodoxy. It is a matter that can be justified by the conservative spirit that characterised the Cypriots while passing through a bitter struggle for maintaining their national identity and their ecclesiastical independence, the thing which was grasped in Nicaea's Council in AD 325 and officially recognised in the third council in Ephesus in AD 431. It was in confrontation of the claims of the bishop of Antioch who demanded putting it under his administration due to the submission of Cyprus officially and politically to the Roman Byzantine Empire and its being ruled by a magistrate (dux, strategos, Comes) who settled in Antioch. In AD 415, Innocent I advised the Cypriots, while he was in Rome, to submit to Antioch. They strongly and firmly resisted that. The formation of the patriarchate in the ecumenical council in Chalcedon in AD 451 did not have any effect on Cyprus position as it was separated from the dukedom of Asia as having an independent Church. The same thing had happened before in Nicaea Council in AD 325 and in Constantinople in AD 381. A resolution was issued in the council of Ephesus in AD 431 that supported the view of the Cypriots who demanded the independence of their church against the claims of Antioch. Victory was achieved due to the co-operation of Cyril Kyrilos of Alexandria and Epiphanius who played a major role. At that time, the Cypriot church was almost a Patriarchate.

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(4) For more information about Epiphanius, see:
[Greek] Hatzioannou, Vol. I Part A, pp. 360-365.
[Greek] A.A. Vasiliev (Athens 1973) p. 316.

As to the correspondences round the one-nature issue of Christ and the role of Cyprus in that context, Averil Cameron states:

> "It is interesting to see that Cyprus seems to emerge as central to this network of correspondence and polemical exchange, with bishop Arcadius of Constantia the sender and recipient of a number of important letters on the subject of Monotheletism"(5).

Intolerance and heresy caused much trouble in Cyprus, particularly in Salamis, at the beginning of the fifth century AD. In AD 626, Emperor Heraclius I made of Cyprus a place for a religious experiment that ultimately proved a failure. He attempted to reconcile between Orthodoxy and Monophysitism in a kind of compromise between the two creeds through advocating new teachings called Monotheletism. It stated that Christ operated with one will although he had two natures. The Emperor attempted to attract Arcadius Archbishop of Constantia (AD 625/622 – 641/642). The success of this experiment would have spread it throughout the Empire. However, its eventual failure goes back to the depth of the conservative Orthodox spirit in the hearts and consciences of the Islanders. According to Arcadius' advice, it was the noble, pious man, the extremely wealthy, corrupt ship-owner, the merchant who possessed immense lands in Constantia, called Philentoulos son of Olympius, who established a

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(5) Averil Cameron, "The Eastern Provinces in the 7th century AD. : Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam," Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 25-27, Octobre 1989, Universite' des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, Travaux du Centre de recherche sur Le Proche-Orient et la Grece Antiques, p. 294.
Compare with:
G. Huxley, "Why did the Byzantine Empire not Fall to the Arabs?" Inaugral Lecture, Gennadius Library. American School of Classical Studies, Athens 1986.
P. Ioannou, La Legislation Imperiale et la Christianisation de l'Empire Romain 311-476 Or. Chr. Anal., 1972.
See also:
[Arabic] Wesam Farag Abd El- Aziz, The Fourth Marriage for Emperor Leo the Sixth (866-916): Religious Dimensions and Political Significance, Alexandria : Dar – al – Ma'refa, 1981, pp. 50, 73, 82.

huge hospital, a poor house, a guest house near Barnabas Monastery in the western part of the city. When he died about AD 641/642 – which was the same date of Arcadius' death as well – the bishops and priests of Cyprus differed about his fate. They met to discuss whether he ought to be buried or not. This reminds us of the last scene of Sophocles's *Ajax* and the long argument between Odysseus and Agamemnon about the burial of Ajax who had attempted slaughtering his fellow Greek commanders at the walls of Troy[(6)].

In the meeting, some believed that Philentoulos should be honoured by burying him, at least for his humanity. Others believed he was a guilty sinner who did not deserve burial. The controversy did not end except when the head of one of the monasteries, Kaioumos, who had been living in a cave near Constantia and had lived for a long time in Klysma in the Gulf of St. Antony on the Red Sea, said that the spirit of Philentoulos should neither go to heaven nor to hell. It should remain in the region in-between. This reminds us of the Latin Christian heritage, of the notion of *Limbus puerorum* mentioned in "Comedia Divina" of Dante Allighieri or the partition between heaven and hell "A'araf" in the Islamic culture[(7)].

Life in monasteries was the centre of cultural activities during the Byzantine age, which left an indelible mark on the following ages and in the cultural formation of Cyprus in general, particularly what is associated with arts as architecture and painting. Icons and wall paintings in Panagia tes Asinou, Agios Nicolaos tes Stegis, Agia Maria

(6) [Greek] Ahmed Etman, pp. 72-3, 74 n. 6, 76, 84, 124, 140, 151, 157, 166, 170, 176, 178, 181, 189, 239.
Compare also with : Ahmed Etman, Ancient Greek Literature, pp. 290-291.

(7) We have already dealt with this point in the following paper: Ahmed Etman, "The Other World in Greek, Arabic and Italian Tradition. Some Aspects of the Oral and Written Acculturation", Le Seminaire Maroco – Italian II (UNESCO) Sur les Aspects de la circulation du Savoir en Mediterranee du XI au XIVe siecle. Rabat 6-8 Juin 1994. cf. Idem, "The Nature of Dante's Islamic Sources in "Divina Comedia". Conference' Egitto in Italia all 'Antichitá al Medioevo" Atti del III Congresso Internazionale Italo-Egiziano, Rome CNR-Pompei 13-19 Nov. 1995. Consiglio Nazionale delle Richerche, Roma 1998 pp. 699-705.

tou Araka, John Lampadhistes, Agia Trias in Chrysostomus and others in the middle mountains chains, the churches and monasteries present the best examples of Byzantine art coming mainly out of the Constantine Empire and mixed with local Cypriot elements. Monks and priests in these monasteries practised widespread power and activity in all fields of religion and worldly life and accumulated huge fortune of money and manuscript. Bishops were selected from them in most cases[8].

2- Joint Arab-Roum (Byzantine) Reign

Historical stories have referred to Omar Ben Khattab's fear of the sea and that he did not like to be separated from his soldiers by the sea. When Muawiya Ben Abu Sufian asked his permission to conquer Cyprus, he said to Omar to facilitate the naval invasion: "O Caliph, El Sham (Damasous) is a village whose inhabitants hear the barking of the dogs of the Roum (Byzantines) and the crowing of their cocks, and they (= the Cypriots) are opposite one of the coasts of Homs."[9]

But Omar did not give him the permission. So, in the reign of Osman Ben Affan (22-36 H/ AD 644/ 656) he repeated his request. The permission was granted on certain conditions mentioned by Tabary[10]. as follows: "Do not select people nor draw lots among them. Give them a choice and whoever freely chooses to take part in the invasion, take him and help him." Al-Baladhri[11] associates Osman's consent with taking his wife [Muawiya's] with him if he goes by sea.

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(8) Concerning cultural life in Byzantine Cyprus, see: P. Charanis, Church and State in the Later Roman Empire. Thessaloniki 1974.
C.N. Constantinidis, Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – Ca. 1310), Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1982.
J. Haldon, Byzantium in the Seventh Century, Cambridge, 1990.
[Greek] Herbert Hunger (Athens 1987), pp. 233,260, 375, 385, 395, 403.
[Greek] A.A. Vasiliev (Athens 1973), pp. 276-7, 316, et passim, Kyrris, op. cit., pp. 203 ff.

(9) [Arabic] Tabary, History of Messengers and Kings, vol. 5, pp. 51-52.

(10) Ibidem, vol 4 , p. 26.

(11) [Arabic] Al-Baladhri, Conquests of Countries, p. 157.

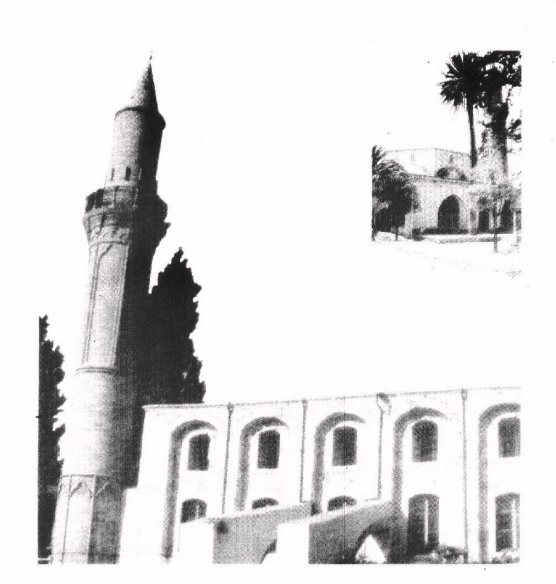


Fig. No. (47)

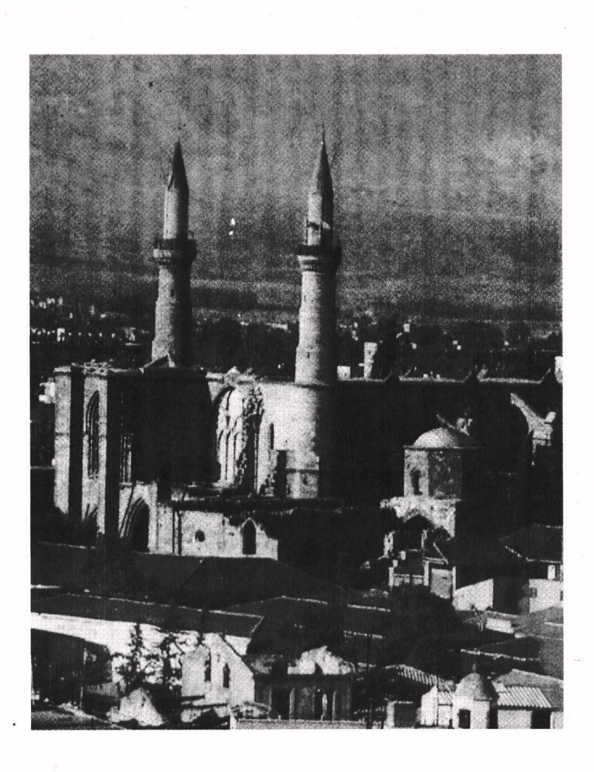


Fig. No. (48)



Fig. No. (49)

Muawiya gathered his fleet and his forces in the port of Acre after fetching trained sailors and ships from Egypt and from Syria's coastal cities. The celebrities of the Islamic State as Abu Dhar Al-Ghafari, Ebada Ben Al-Samit and others supported the campaign. Egypt's ships joined forces under the command of Abdullah Ben Abu Sarh, with sailors from the people of Alexandria who were well-versed in sea affairs. General command of the fleet in that campaign was given to Abdullah Ben Al-Jassi.

Dr. Saeed Ashur explains: "The distance between the northern part of the Island and the coasts of Kilikia in Asia Minor is about 35 miles geographically, i.e. the Island was in a middle position between the Islamic State and the Byzantine Empire."[12].

One of the apparent factors that encouraged Muawiya Ben Abu Sufian to invade Cyprus was its closeness to the Syrian lands, in spite of Omar Ben Al-Khattab's concern about the Muslims because they had never sailed through "Roumi sea before that time", according to Al-Baladhri. Due to Muawiya's awareness of the importance and the gravity of the Island's position in relation to the Islamic State, he therefore repeated his request of conquering the Island in the reign of Osman Ben Affan.

When Muawiya finished his preparations, the Islamic campaign started under his command from Acre to conquer Cyprus in 28H/ AD 648. The response to the battle was more positive than Osman thought, and suffice it to us that many companions (of the prophet Mohamed) took part in it as Abu Dhar Al-Ghafari, Ebada Ben Al-Samit and his wife Om Haram, Abu Al-Dardaa, and Shaddad Ben Aws. In addition, Muawiya's sister accompanied him.

Historians differed in their reports about the ships of the Islamic fleet in this campaign. Some Greek historians estimated them to be seven hundred ships. Lang estimated them to be a hundred and

(12) See footnote 9.

seventeen; whereas Hill went as far as saying they were made up of seventeen hundred[13]. As to the Islamic resources, they have not mentioned a word about the number of ships in the first Islamic fleet. It seems that what the above references mentioned was based on the number of ships known in some Islamic campaigns on Constantinople later on. However, Muawiya succeeded in reaching the Cypriot east-northern coasts and then sent the inhabitants a messenger telling them that he did not come out of a certain order, nor did he come as an aggressor. He only came for an agreement on a form that would secure the interests of both the Muslims and the Cypriots. When they refused to negotiate with him and confined themselves to the walls of their capital Constantia, he besieged the city, which surrendered to him. He then captured many of its treasures and people. It was said that Muawiya was at an impasse when the Cypriots refused to negotiate and did not know then what he should do in that situation of the sea wars. The Alexandrians suggested he would disembark and he agreed. Immediately, Muslims were able to besiege the city of Constantia on the eastern coast and captured it. Then the campaign's soldiers landed and spread in all the adjacent places. They "killed many people and captured many others, and they collected a lot of money as spoil," according to Ibn Katheer[14]. When the inhabitants of the Island yielded and its Roumi Ruler (Archon) sent asking for reconciliation, Muawiya agreed on certain conditions. First, that Cypriots should pay an annual tribute to the Muslims, about seven thousand dinars, and an equal amount to the Byzantine State and Muslims would not reject that. It indicates that Muslims did not much care to be the sole masters of the Island. They accepted to share the Island with the Byzantines. Moreover, the Muslims laid another condition: they had to be told about the preparations of the Byzantines when they decide to invade the Islamic lands so as to take precaution and be ready for them.

From that last condition, it is evident that Muslims realised the importance of the position of the Island for their possessions in Syria.

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(13) Hill, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 284.

(14) [Arabic] Ibn Katheer, The Beginning and the End, Vol. 7, p. 153.

They were afraid their enemies would use Cyprus as a basis to attack them. In addition, Muslims laid the condition that Cyprus would be the Muslim's thoroughfare to the Byzantine lands. This term, mentioned only by Ibn Al-Atheer(15), signifies that Muslims intended to make of Cyprus a basis for their attack on the Byzantine territories later on. That actually agrees with what is stated by Ibn Kherdzabah(16) that the Islamic fleets used to gather at the Island of Cyprus when they were ready to invade the Byzantine countries. Finally, the Arabs put a condition for the Cypriots: not to offer any assistance to their enemies.

Muawiya then left Cyprus in a hurry for hearing – as it was reported – that a Byzantine campaign sent by Emperor Constans II (also called Constantine III AD 641-668) was approaching the Island. It is a plausible reason. However, what is most probable in Muawiya's hasty evacuation is represented in the sedition that started to penetrate the depth of the Islamic State itself at that time and Muawiya's awareness that he should be available in the headquarters of his province in Syria. Whatever the matter was, it is well known that Muslims evacuated Cyprus in a great haste. It was reported that Om Haram Bent Mehan, Ebada Ben Al Samet's wife, fell off her running mule, her head was broken and was buried in the Island. Her tomb in Hala Sultan Tekke is still honoured by the Muslims of Cyprus and they call it "the tomb of the good woman." This tomb was perhaps the germ of the story that made for Abu Bakr's daughter a tomb in Cyprus(17).

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(15) Ibn Al-Atheer, The Comprehensive in History, Vol. 3, p. 74.

(16) Ibn Kherdzabah, The Ways and the Kingdoms, p. 255.

(17) Concerning Muawiya's campaign on Cyprus as the first naval Arab campaign, see:
[Arabic] Saeed Abd El-Fattah Ashur, Europe in the Middle Ages, vol. I: "Political History", Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian, sixth ed., 1975, pp. 132-133.
Ibid., Cyprus and the Crusades, a thesis in the history of the Middle Ages, Cairo: The Egyptian Nahda, 1957. Pp. 4 ff.
[Arabic] Sayyeda Ismael Al-Kashef, Al-Walid Ben Abd El-Malek: 86-96 H (AD 705-715), Cairo: General Egyptian Organisation for Writing, Trans. and Pub., 1963, pp. 151 ff.
See also: =

The Arab presence in Cyprus extended to more than three centuries (AD 649-963/964). The first campaign on Cyprus, as already mentioned, was under the command of Muawiya Ben Abu Sufian who besieged the Capital Constantia and destroyed a large part of it, capturing and killing thousands of its people. When the Byzantine fleet arrived–according to some sources- the Arabs retreated. An agreement was reached about a special position for Cyprus. Most of our sources about this epoch are Arab ones, and what they transmit to us in brief is that Cyprus was put in a state of neutrality or non-alignment as the Island was under a joint-authority between Byzantium and Muslim Arabs. When the Cypriots breached the agreement in AD 653/654, another Arab campaign was launched on the Island, which ended with the destruction of Constantia and Paphos. In the latter city an Arab protectorate was placed, though there are Arab sources that place the protectorate in Lapethos. The Cypriots had to take their possessions and belongings and flee to the top of the mountains where they founded new cities later on.

In fact, the second Arab campaign was more extensive than the first and aimed at paving the way to capture Constantinople itself.

The controversy is still on about the date of the agreement

= [Arabic] Ibrahim Ahmed Al-Adawi, The Omayyads and Byzantines: the Mediterranean as an Islamic Lake, The Anglo-Egyptian, 1953.
[Arabic] Ahmed Abd El-Karim Soliman, Muslims and Byzantines in the East of the Mediterranean Between the Third and Sixth Centuries H/ the Ninth and Twelfth AD, Vol. I, First Ed., Cairo, 1982.
[Arabic] Ahmed Mukhtar Al-Ebadi and Al-Saied Abd El-Aziz Salem, History of Islamic Navy in Egypt and Syria, Beirut: Dar El-Ahad (Buhairi Brothers), 1972.
Archibald. R. Louis, Marine and Commercial Forces in the Mediterranean Basis (AD 500-1100), Trans. by Ahmed Muhammad Essa, Revised and Int. by Muhammad Sahfik Ghorbal, Cairo: The Egyptian Nahda, 2nd ed., 1960.
See also my article pub in Al-Ahram Al-Massae, Sun. 12 Jan. 1991, entitled "The Desert's Ship in Confronting the Naval Fleets." See also the Greek point of View in the following references:
[Greek] IEE Vol. H. pp. 354-361 et passim.
[Greek] Vasiliev, pp. 264 ff.

between the Cypriots and the Arabs concerning the position of the Island. Is it AD 648/649 or AD 688, or another date? We do not know exactly the circumstances that surrounded the agreement. Naturally, studying the relation between the Arabs and Byzantium in general will shed light on the issue. It is noticed that the Arab and Byzantine sources, equally, mix up the events and the dates. However, they all agree that the signing of the agreement took place after the first Arab campaign in the early summer of AD 649, which was the first marine Arab Campaign. The fact that Egypt contributed with some naval forces in the campaign that comprised 1700 ships, under the command of Muawiya himself, indicates that the campaign was an Egyptian undertaking, though Muawiya was behind carrying it out. Cyprus had been used in AD 646 as a basis for the Byzantine attack on Alexandria, and this fact was perhaps the direct pretext for launching an Arab campaign on Cyprus three years later. The participation of the ruler of Egypt in Muawiya's campaign could be an answer to Cyprus and the Byzantine commander, Manuel, who was one of the leaders of the attack on Alexandria.

As to Muawiya the governor of Syria AD 639/640, he was considering the strategic importance of the Island for it was used as a starting point for the attack on Syria since AD 646. However, his request to of Caliph Omar for launching a naval campaign on Cyprus had been presented before AD 644 during the final year of the reign of Omar Ben Al-Khattab (AD 634-644), i.e. before Muawiya took office as a Caliph. Omar's refusal was due to his distrust of the sea, while Muawiya's persistence indicates his early awareness of the strategic importance of Cyprus's position on the one hand, and his desire to have a naval force on the other.

In Muawiya's second request in AD 644 to Caliph Osman Ben Affan, he accurately set the aim that was the invasion of the part of Cyprus near the coast of Syria. That meant to facilitate the matter. But Osman's reply was the same as Omar's. Muawiya extended his request on 7 October 647 – 24 September 648 (27 H) and stressed in his request the feasibility of crossing the sea to Cyprus. Thereupon, Osman Ben

Affan gave permission to the naval invasion provided Muawiya would take his own wife as well as the wives of his soldiers. On 25 September 648 (28 H) – 13 September 649 after the rainy season (Spring-Summer AD 649), Muawiya crossed from Acre to Cyprus. Other sources suggest different dates.

The penetration of the Arabs into Cyprus was completed by besieging Paphos and then capturing it. There was an Arab protectorate of twelve thousand men settled there, and a mosque was built for them. The number of the protectorates was increased by some forces from Baalbek who settled in another special city established for them and they had their special mosque as well. Most probably the name of the small gulf (8 miles north-west of Paphos) Maa was the Arabic name it acquired then and it was used to supply Arabs with "water". There are Arab inscriptions found in Cato Paphos that go back to the period between the seventh and the ninth centuries AD.

Muawiya's aim of fetching Syrian subjects from Baalbek as a protectorate was to establish in Cyprus professionals and people of different trades who had Byzantine culture and technical abilities. The possibility of making ships for the newborn Arab fleet was thus created. Colonising Cyprus was encouraging in that direction because the island was rich in the wood used for building ships and it had a long history in this industry. The Arabs were in dire need for a strong fleet to enable them to destroy the Byzantine marine basis as a preliminary to dominate Constantinople, their second goal.

Though the AD 653 campaign was successful, it is not unlikely that it had ended with confirming the former neutral state or the joint authority between Byzantium and the Arabs. That was confirmed in the treaty of AD 688. The Cypriots accepted the conditions seeing that Byzantium was losing power. Nonetheless, we have to consider the financial assistance given by Byzantium to Cyprus to rebuild Constantia after AD 653, which suggests the Byzantine presence on the Island. There was also the Arab city in Limeniotissa and Chrysopolitissa that was the region of Sarandcolones (the forty

columns?), or the Byzantine fort, which suggests the juxtaposition of the two sectors – the Arab and the Roumi- after AD 653. It was then a "joint authority" or a "joint power" for the Cypriot people; but it was a general citizenship and not "division of land". Freedom of movement everywhere on the Island was permissible for all.

In order to confront the Arab danger on Cyprus, the Byzantine authorities started to erect a series of forts and castles in sensitive areas as Paphos Sarand-colones Fort (or the Forty Columns), built in AD 649-656; Fort Pentadaktylos (the five fingers); and the Castles of St. Hilarion, Kyriniotissa, Kyrenia, Buffavento and Kantara (an Arabic name?). Then the *thema* system was applied. It belongs to late Oriental and Roman origins and mostly applies to the border regions[18]. The Danube-Byzantine fleet–charged to protect the Aegean Sea and the coast of Asia Minor–resisted the Arab attacks under the command of the Carabisianoi for pilot. The name Carabisianoi is derived from Karabos, i.e. the ship that first appeared in Cyprus, the fact that asserts the marine importance of Cyprus since the Byzantine age. The two Byzantine armies in Asia Minor, or the Anatolian *thema* and the Armenian one, were responsible to protect the eastern borders of the empire in Asia Minor and to confront the strong Arab fortifications extended from the Arab quarter in Cyprus to Rhodes, the aravisianoi armies of Smyrna, and the Cyzicus peninsula. The two Byzantine armies mentioned above sought the assistance of other Byzantine forces in Bithynia and around Izmir. The command of the war was by the Carabisianoi fleet made Karabos kind of ships, built between AD 654 and 673. It was a Byzantine reaction towards the Arab threat to Constantinople. However, the command of the Carabisianoi fleet did not prove its efficiency between AD 710 and 732 and was replaced by the Kibyrhaeotai, also closely attached to Cyprus. Also between AD 653-670 and 680-688, the Arabs established war colonies in some conflict areas in Cyprus as Basilica Limentiotissa to

(18) See:. [Arabic] Tarek Mansur, 'The Army in the Byzantine Empire from the Beginning of the Seventh Century to the End of the Ninth", an M.A. dissertation (Faculty of Arts University of Banha: 1993), pp. 203-273.

confront the fort of Sarandcolones (the fort of the forty columns).

It was said that at the time of the first Arab invasion of Cyprus, the Island was not independent, i.e. it was not ruled by a Cypriot Archon. The Cypriots were only subordinates paying taxes to the Byzantines. However, this claim is not true because a Cypriot Archon was ruling the Island like in any another Byzantine province. He had the usual administrative tasks. The Arab sources state that Cyprus which had been under the Roum and paying them the taxes, had started after the Arab conquest to pay taxes to the Roum and the Arabs as well, after the signing of the agreement between the two parties. The use of the word "dinar" in the agreement probably refers to the reign of Abd El-Malik who followed the policy of Arabising the coins in 696/697 or before that in AD 692 as an earliest date. Those coins originally were an imitation of the Byzantine coins. However, some Arab sources might have committed anachronism by using the word "dinar" as the agreement was signed in AD 649 or in 653 at most.

After the Arabs had besieged Constantia and captured it, the Archon Cypriot-governor asked to surrender, when he perceived it was useless to do otherwise. The Arabs were increasing in power, achieving successive victories and conquests in regions surrounding Cyprus. Some of these conquests were preliminaries to the naval invasion of Cyprus. The important matter was that the Arab conqueror put conditions for the surrendring of Cyprus. The Cypriots had to pay 7200 (or 700) dinars annually, an amount that equalled what they had been paying to Byzantium before. The Cypriots then had to pay two taxes because the Muslim conquerors promised the Byzantines that in no way the Cypriots should be persuaded not to pay taxes to the Roum. They also promised that they would not interfere in any military actions in Cyprus that might erupt due to an outside foreign invasion. The Cypriots also had to inform the Arabs of the enemies' movement, i.e. the Roum. They also had to pass the information about the Arabs' attitude in Cyprus to the Roum. The Arabs in return promised the Cypriots not to impose added burden in their preparation to launch other marine campaigns. In such case, the

Cypriots would have no obligation to offer them or their enemies any assistance. The last condition was a kind of official legalisation to an actual prevalent situation. If the treaty was signed in AD 649, then it seems that the last condition was added later, based on actual occurrences. Some allowances were probably made which required the addition of this condition to overcome them. According to what is mentioned in the Arab sources, the last condition reveals the Arabs' desire to treat the Cypriots equally. However the Arabs did not hesitate in levying heavy penalties when the Cypriots helped Himerius in AD 911.

As to the aspects of subjecting the inhabitants of the Island to persecution during the naval contention between the Arabs and the Roum, they seem evident in the letter of Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus (AD 901-907) to the Abbassid Caliph Al-Muqtader Bellah in 300-320 H (AD 912-932). It is clear from this letter that the fleet's commander, the Byzantine Himerius, led a naval campaign against the Island of Cyprus and his soldiers killed some of its Muslim inhabitants in 298-299 H (AD 910-911). A little later in 299 H/ AD 911, Admiral Demnana (Demian) the Muslim Prince of Tarsus, made a raid on the Island of Cyprus in retaliation, killing a great number of its Christian inhabitants and destroyed their properties. He then took a number of captives and women from the inhabitants as prisoners of war and returned with them to the Syrian territories. In the events of 299 H/ AD 911, Al- Massouidi referred to Damian's raid on the Island, and attributed the cause to their breach of the agreement between them and the Muslims. He explained: "They had breached the vow made in the early period of Islam of not assisting the Roum against Muslims nor Muslims against Roum, and that the land taxes should be divided equally between the Muslims and the Roum"[19]. This signifies that the Muslims considered Himerius' attack on the island the previous year and the attitude of the inhabitants as an attempt by the Byzantines to change the situation of the Island, therefore, they made their

(19) [Arabic] Al-Massoudi, Gold Meadows and the Quintessence of Metals, Vol. II, p. 550.

destructive naval raid that lasted four months.

The Byzantine Empire responded by sending a messenger to the court of Abbassid Caliphate in Baghdad conveying a message from Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus – as the head of the regency council for the minor Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII (301-348 H/ AD 913-959) – to the Abbassid Caliph Al-Muqtader Billah. He protested against the violent attack that aimed at the retaliation of the Christian inhabitants of Cyprus. St. Demetrianus was among the members of the mission; he was one of the bishops of the Cypriot Church. He went to Baghdad to explain the truth of the matter and the dimensions of the harm inflicted upon the Christian inhabitants of Cyprus at the hands of Damian and his soldiers. It was considered a violation of the terms of the truce (69 H/ AD 688-689) between the Byzantines and the Muslims.

The task of the Byzantine mission headed by Demetrianus to Baghdad was successful, as the Caliph ordered the return of the Cypriot captives to their country at the end of 301 or beginning of 302 H (AD 913 or 914). The importance of the message sent by Patriarch Mysticus to the Abbassid Caliph was perhaps because it defined the political future of the Island of Cyprus for a long time. It denoted that the agreement of 69 H/ AD 688-389 asserted the status quo of the Island. It also referred to the fact that the inhabitants of the island should not be biassed towards any of the parties in the contention between the Arabs and the Roum, and that they had to rise to help their fellow citizens the Cypriots, whether they were Christians or Muslims, when subjected to harm and aggression. In his defence of the Christian Cypriots, Nicholas Mysticus said that they should not be blamed for what Himerius, the commander of the Byzantine fleet, committed of oppression and harm to the Muslim inhabitants because the Christian Cypriots neither possessed the power nor the weapons to prevent him. In his view, Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus relied on the fact that the inhabitants of the Island–Christians and Muslims– had no right to keep regular forces, nor did Cyprus have any military forces affiliated to the Byzantine or to the Islamic state on its territories.

Most probably the disarmament of the Island was one of the terms of the truce of 69 H (AD 688-689), which has not reached us intact.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, Mysticus, in his letter addressed to the Abbassid Caliph Al-Muqtader (AD 908-932) written in AD 913/914 as a trustee and guardian of the young Emperor, gives us a report about Cyprus and its neutral or non-aligned attitude of the "joint sovereignty". He states that the position of the Island had prevailed since three hundred years before his era. The letter[20]. states further:

> *'καὶ νῆσος μικροῦ ἔτη τριακόσια, ἐξ οὗ ὑπόφορος οὖσα ὑμῖν ἐγεγόνει, καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ὀφθεῖσα τῆς ὑπηκόου τάξεως μεταβαλλομένης μηδὲ καινοτομήσασα περὶ τοὺς φόρους μηδὲ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην δουλείαν, ὅσην Σαρακηνοῖς δουλεύειν ἐχρῆν,*

"Since three hundred years it happened that our island became subject to pay a tribute to you and it did'nt change her disposition to pay the taxes and did not try to make the community do otherwise as for the taxes and the submission for it had to be subdued to the Saracens (Arabs)..."

(ΕΕΒΣ, XXXVIII, 1971, pp. 43-44).

This figure "300" brings us closer to Muawiya's era (AD 661-680) which agrees with what Hisham Ben Ammar Al-Demeshqi has mentioned. He said that the Arab campaigns were repeated on Cyprus until Muawiya's Caliphate, when the latter held an agreement with the Cypriots to the effect that they had to pay tribute. It could be gathered from these sources that the date of the Cypriot Arab treaty was in between AD 661-680. It could also be gathered that Muawiya had reached the agreement before he took office as a caliph, about AD 653. The agreement could have been a confirmation of the previous one

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(20) Kyrris, op. cit., p. 184 ff.
Compare with : [Arabic] Mahmoud Saeed Omran, Nicholas Mysticus and the Relation of the Byzantine Empire With the Islamic Forces Through His Correspondence. Beirut: Dar El-Nahda El-Arabeya, 1980, pp. 10 ff et passim.

signed in AD 649, which was not perhaps put into effect until the later date. The news about the approach of the Byzantine fleet from Cyprus under the command of Kakoorrizos had perhaps made Muawiya flee and retreat. According to the Syrian sources, Muawiya or one of his leaders– Abu Al-A'war– returned with the Syrian fleet to Cyprus with five hundred ships in AD 653. It was not because the Cypriots breached the 649 agreement, as the Arab sources mention, but in the framework of the Arab-Islamic project that aimed at preparing to capture Constantinople, specially after the surrender of Arados Island, the greatest position in the north of Phoenicia, in the spring of AD 650 that led to the fall of Rhodes in AD 654, Cos and others.

In the Arab sources it is mentioned that between 653 and 680 Cyprus was in the hands of the Arabs based on joint sovereignty. However, the Cypriot researcher, Kyrris, states that some extant coins from the age of Constantine III (AD 642-668) and Constantine IV (AD 668-685) indicate the Byzantine sovereignty in Cyprus. It is observed that after the two Arab campaigns between 649 and 653, the Island suffered from lack of coin liquidity. Those who emerged out of the economic crisis had to rely on the local brass coin. In 659, the Arabs proposed terms of an agreement comprising a number of concessions, and in AD 678/679 the Arab fleet was defeated opposite the walls of Constantinople, which changed the balance of power in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. In the treaty held between the Arabs and Byzantium, we gather that the position of the Arabs was weakening and the scale of joint sovereignty was leaning towards Byzantium. When Caliph Yazid (AD 680-685) ratified the treaty (AD 680/681), the retreat of Arab protectorate from Rhodes and Cyprus followed. It is surprising that in AD 688, according to Theophanes, Caliph Abd El-Malik Ben Marwan (AD 685-705) demanded the renewal of the AD 659 agreement. He was thinking of the treaty signed by each of Muawiya and Constantine IV in AD 678, which had no reference to Cyprus. It probably bore the spirit of the 653 treaty, i.e. the imposition of the treaty on the Cypriots[21].

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(21) Concerning the image of the Arabs in Byzantine sources, see: =

Dr. Abd El-Rahman Abd El-Ghani says that the Mediterranean was an area of a long naval contention between the Islamic world and the Byzantine Empire. In addition to that contention within the time framework we are discussing, it was not decisively solved to the interests of any of the parties in spite of the interest of each of these countries to impose its sovereignty on this Island that has an important strategic position. That probably adds to the importance of the study of the situation of the Island during an essential stage of the contention.

The importance of the commercial military strategic position of Cyprus in the international trade movement and communication lines in the Mediterranean world has perhaps what endows this task with a certain trait. One of the important landmarks in this context was the consequences of the treaties held between the inhabitants of the Island and the Muslims – the treaty held by the governor of Syria Muawiya Ben Abu Sufian with the Islanders in 28 H/ AD 648 in particular. It agreed in some of its terms with another following treaty held by Caliph Abd El-Malik Ben Marwan with the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II in 69 H/ AD 688-689 and what followed that treaty of a special situation of the powers of each of the two poles, the Byzantine and the Islamic. This special situation was destined to remain and continue in spite of naval contentions between the two powers later on, until the fall of the Island into the hands of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 355 H/ AD 965[22].

= Kyrris, op. cit., p. 184 ff.

K. Karapali, "Speeches of Arab Leaders to their Warriors according to Byzantine texts". Graeco-Arabica V (Athens 1993) pp. 233-242.

N.A. Koutrakou, "The Image of the Arabs in Middle Byzantine Politics: A Study in the Enemy Principle (3rd-10th centuries)." Graeco–Arabica V (Athens 1993) pp. 213 – 224.

E. Jeffreys, "The Image of the Arabs in Byzantine literature". Major Papers of the 7th International Byzantine Congress. New Rochelle: 1986, pp. 305-323.

W. Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquests", Church History, 38 (1969), pp. 139-149.

(22) [Arabic] Abd El-Rahman Muh, Abd El-Ghani, "Cyprus Between the Islamic and the Byzantine Sovereignty: 69-355 H/ AD 688-965", Arab Journal for =

Then, Abd El-Malik succeeded in 69H (AD 688-689) in renewing the peace treaty Muawiya had contracted with Constantine IV in 36H/AD 657. One of its terms was to define the amount of money paid annually by the Omayyad Caliph to the Byzantine Empire estimated at three-hundred sixty-five pure horses, in addition to half the tribute they got from Armenia and Iberia. In return, Emperor Justinian II promised to draw 1200 of the Maradaites(23). community from the Lebanese Mountains to Asia Minor.

Since signing this treaty in 69H / AD 688-689 and until 354 H/ AD 965 when Byzantium succeeded during the Macedonian dynasty to regain its entire sovereignty on the Island, Cyprus remained under a kind of joint rule. In fact, the continuation of that unique situation of the Island during the Byzantine-Islamic contentions is a matter of great interest and it justifies the effort done by researchers about this epoch(24).

Archibald Lewis referred to this treaty, when he stated that "the treaty of AD 689 held between Constantinople and Damascus estimates the amount of the annual tribute paid by the Caliph (Abd El-Malik Ben Marwan) to the Byzantine government to be 5000 pounds of gold, 365 captives, and 365 horses. In return, Justinian II would draw back 12000 of the "Marada" soldiers from the mountains of Lebanon to stay in Asia Minor. It was also agreed that the Cypriot revenue would be equally shared between them." (25).

= Humanities, No 15, 13th Year (Kuwait Univ. Spring of 1995) pp. 58-91.
Also Compare:
A.I. Dikigoropoulos, "Cyprus between Greeks and Saracens, AD 647-969", Ph. D. Thesis, Oxford, 1961.
Idem, "The Political Status of Cyprus, AD 648-965", RDAC 1940-1948 (1958), pp. 101-102, 110 ff.

(23) Maradaites are also called the Garagmans, See: Sayyeda I. Al-Kashef, op. cit., pp. 166-168.

(24) See the article of Abd El-Rahman Muh. Abd El-Ghani, note No. 21.

(25) Archibald Lewis, op. cit., p. 99.

The Arabs had passed through successive crises. Plague spread in Syria in AD 684-685, and there were internal riots. In Lebanon, the Maradaites, the allies of Byzantium, made a series of destructive attacks against the Arab forces. At that time the Byzantine military forces increased and it was revealed in its quick penetration into the lands of Armenia, Asia Minor and Palestine. Negotiations continued between the Arabs and Byzantium between AD 687 and 688, and finally a treaty was signed in AD 688. Its terms were more oppressive for the Arabs than in the treaty of AD 678. Justinian II imposed his terms and they were accepted by Abd El-Malik Ben Marwan. It stated that the Arabs had to pay 365 thousand gold pieces annually and to deliver 365 slaves and 365 pure Arab horses. However, the treaty stated that the two parties should share the revenue of Cyprus, Armenia and Iberia (Georgia). It also stated the retreat of twelve thousand of the Maradaites from Lebanon.

The Cypriot researcher Kyrris commented on these terms saying that twelve thousand of the Maradaites was exactly the number of the Arab-Syrian protectorate in Cyprus that retreated in AD 680. It seems that this condition aimed at restoring the lost balance due to the retreat of the protectorate in the reign of Yazid who was behaving in the frame of the 677/ 678 set back and was offering the convenient concessions. On the Byzantine part, the approval of the retreat of twelve thousand of the Maradaites in Lebanon in AD 688 aimed at revealing good intentions(26).

It is known that St. Constantine had visited the Island in the reign of the Macedonian Basil I (AD 867-886). During these years the Island was not under the Byzantine domination. This reference is essential as it once again reflects the position accepted by the two parties, the Arabs and the Byzantines, of the Island, i.e. dividing the sovereignty between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic State. Jenkins believes Muslims were forming the minority and were inclined towards coming together and settling with each other. He likens the

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(26) Kyrris, op. cit., pp. 176 ff.

position of Muslims at that time with the positions of Muslim minorities as those in Cyprus and Albania nowadays and as "the Albanians do in Greek territories at the present time". Jenkins does not see any indications that refer to regions where Muslims were living by themselves or where Christians were dismissed from certain regions(27). Most probably, the settlement of the Island's Muslim inhabitants started from their invasion during the time of Muawiya Ben Abu Sufian. In addition, the commercial position of Cyprus encouraged a great number of Muslims to settle there.

It seems that it was agreed upon between the two parties to keep Cyprus disarmed. Constantinople had a free hand to start rebuilding, and works of construction and fortification went on during the reign of Constantine IV (AD 668-685) and Justinian II (AD 685-695), which indicates that sovereignty over Cyprus was purely Byzantine. Then at the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth they returned to dividing the sovereignty.

Similarly, the division of revenues from the three Border States – Cyprus was one of them- was included in the game of military and economic balance between Byzantium and the Arabs. As to the statement concerning following the AD 678 treaty between Abd El-Malik and Justinian II and mentioning the name of Cyprus in that context, it did not come by chance because Cyprus was an asset in the game of the strategic contention. In return for the retreat of the twelve thousand of Maradaites to Lebanon the sovereignty of Byzantium over Armenia was recognised.

What is significant is that there are distinct differences between the terms of AD 688 and those of AD 653, though the two treaties meet in the broad lines and in the general principles of keeping the balance.

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(27) R. Jenkins, "Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam", Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson, Washington Univ., 1953, pp. 10-11.
D. Pingree, "The Byzantine version of the Toledan Tables: The Work of George Lapithes?" Dumbarton Oaks Papers XXX, 1976, pp. 86-132.
See also: Abd El-Rhaman Muh. Abd El-Ghani, op. cit., Note 21.

What is more important for Cyprus was the neutral position or the joint sovereignty. Byzantium officially ratified the article that Cyprus had to pay the Arabs a tribute that was equal to what was paid to Byzantium. The article extended to include Armenia and Iberia. Though the new treaty of AD 688 was imposed on the Cypriots, they did not sign it. The treaty shows that till that time Cyprus was considered a Byzantine province as the Arabs were not dominating the whole of the Island. At the same time, it would seem reasonable to think that the military Arab presence on the Island had not stopped, even after the retreat of the protectorate from Paphos in AD 680. After the retreat, the Cypriots destroyed mosques in the city or the Arab colony in Cato Paphos, though in some Arab sources they refer to Lapethos(28).

Dr. Abd El-Rahman says:

> *"Most probably this truce stated the necessity for the Omayyads to draw the military forces composed of twelve thousand soldiers Muawiya established in Lipithos (sic) and which had been there for more than three decades. The Byzantine Empire which became victorious after the Muslims had besieged its capital, took great care to remove the military presence of Muslims on the Island. It pressed the Omayyads to achieve that. Indeed, we find Yazid Ben Muawiya who succeeded his father soon after the truce contract carry out the Byzantine request concerning the withdrawal of the military Islamic forces from the Island"*(29).

Some scholars believe that the 688 treaty divided the Island into two different parts, a Byzantine part and an Arab one. After four years of that date, Justinian II transferred a great number of Cypriots to Kyzikus with their archbishop. There, they employed sailors in the Empire's fleet but kept the independence of their church. As to the rest

(28) Controversy is still going about this point. Compare what is mentioned by Muh. Abd El-Ghani (op. cit., p. 69) to Kyrris, op. cit., pp. 176 ff.

(29) Abd El-Rahman Muh. Abd El-Ghani, op. cit., p. 69.

of the inhabitants or the majority of them, the Arabs took them as captives to Syria. The crisis ended by the agreement between the two great powers, the Arabs and Byzantium, in 698 or 705 provided each party would return the Cypriots they had to their homeland, and to re-confirm the 688 treaty. Since then, the bishop of Cyprus was called the "bishop of Justiniana and the whole of Cyprus" to commemorate the city that received the Cypriots in their exile in Hellespont where they lived for many years. After the return of the exiled Cypriots to their homeland, Emperor Tiberius II or Justinian II secretly started to reorganise the administrative and defensive structure of Cyprus, or at least the Byzantine sector. Thence, the Kibyrrhaeotic *thema* had become the axis of that structure after replacing the Carabisianoi fleet. Most of the crewmen or all of them were from Asia Minor, particularly after the overwhelming victory achieved by Leo III over the Arabs in AD 717/718. Certainly, it was these forces that brought along with them from Asia Minor the Akritic folklore which still exists in Cyprus until now.

The Arab campaigns on Cyprus were repeated in AD 743, 747, 773, 790, and 806. Consequently, the Cypritos' attachment to Byzantium and to the Greek-Cypriot identity increased. It was manifested in the ecumenical councils the Cypriots participated in and in the increasing effectiveness of the Cypriot Church in worldly affairs. The 806 invasion was an answer to the violation of the agreement contracted between the Byzantine Emperor, Nicephorus II Phocas and the Arabs to forbid Byzantium of reconstructing the fortifications destroyed by former invasions. One of the many captives held in that campaign was the bishop himself. The transference of people from coastal cities to the mountains became denser, and in spite of the problems of Cyprus it offered a secure shelter to the Christians of Palestine and Syria, and to the Orthodox of Byzantium, fleeing from persecution in the war of the icons.

Deporting Cypriots in AD 692 was the main reason behind the of imbalance between the Byzantines and the Arabs in Cyprus. Muslim Arabs settling in Cyprus were taken with Cypriots to Kyzikus as

captives or as the remaining people after the retreat of the Arab protectorate in AD 680. They turned to civil life and became attached to local life in Cyprus. The aim of Byzantium behind the deportation was to deprive Abd El-Malik of the tribute, the tax paid by the inhabitants to the Islamic State. Therefore, deportation was considered a violation of one of the terms of the treaty between the two parties. It was said that one of the reasons of deportation was the desire to solidate the defense of the region they were deported to, and the assistance in strengthening the Byzantine fleet. More important, the aim was to turn the Cypriots in their new settling place into loyal subjects to Byzantium. Justinian II rejected the Caliph's protest and a military clash took place in AD 692. The situation ended when the Caliph deported the rest of the inhabitants to Syria with the aim of preventing Byzantium to have entire control over Cyprus. However, the whole issue is not very clear and requires more study.

A few years later, in AD 698/699 or in AD 705, it was proved that deporting Cypriots from their homeland brought about heavy, nearly catastrophic consequences for Byzantium. It was probably because Justinian II came closer to Al-Walid (AD 705-715) during his second term of reign (AD 705-711), negotiating with the Caliph whether it was Abd El-Malik (AD 685-705) or Al-Walid (AD 705-715) – about the return of the deported Cypriots on both sides. The Caliph agreed and started sending back deported Cypriots from Syria, while Byzantium returned those who had been deported, including the Muslim Arabs who had been settling in Cyprus.

The non-aligned, neutral position of Cyprus continued, and the Cypriots became certain that Byzantium would not be able to protect them due to civil wars that tore the country apart. Abd El-Malik raised the amount of the tribute paid by Cyprus an additional thousand dinars. Caliph Omar Ben Abd El-Aziz cancelled the additional amount, but Hisham Ben Abd El-Malik brought it back. It remained like that until the epoch of Caliph Abu Ja'far Al-Mansour who revived the terms of Muawiya.

We do not know exactly how Cyprus was turned once again at the end of the ninth century to the state of non-alignment and joint sovereignty that had been established by the 653 treaty and confirmed by the 688 treaty. In 912 and 914, an Arab campaign swept Cyprus, captured many people and carried them to Baghdad. It was announced that the Arab attack came as a punishment for the Cypriots who had supported the commander of the Byzantine fleet, Himerius, during his invading campaigns on Syria, Kilikia, Crete and others between AD 900 and 912. Those same Byzantine campaigns were an answer to former Arab ones that led to the domination of the Arabs on the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. The Arabs then landed on Cyprus in AD 904 and set up a protectorate in Paphos as part of a limited Arab colony there. Emperor Leo VI (AD 901) had transposed the body of St. Lazaros(30) from Larnaca to Constantinople to be buried in the church that was being established for him there. Himerius then co-operated with the governor of Cyprus, Leon Symbatikes against the Arabs in Cyprus and in order to spy on the Arabs of Syria and Kilikia. All that gives us an image of Cyprus at that time overpowered by a strong Byzantine power: military, political and religious, next to a similar Arab power. The general state was, therefore, that of neutrality, which was imposed on the Island, though it was occasionally violated by the Byzantines.

When the Arab admiral, Damian, swept through Cyprus in AD 912/913, the bishop of Kythrea, Demetrianos, went to Baghdad to rescue the lives of the captives of his subjects. There in Baghdad, the bishop defended all the Roumi, particularly the Cypriots. He adopted the same excuses the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas Mysticus, mentioned in a letter sent to the Caliph as the guardian of the minor Emperor in AD 913. Mysticus said the Cypriots were not responsible for Himerius's attacks, and therefore the penal campaigns of Damian were misplaced and they even violated the neutral position of Cyprus agreed upon several centuries before. The Arabs, he said, had to be

(30) For more information about ST. Lazsaros, see:
[Greek] Hunger, pp. 233 ff.

fair to the Cypriots who were among their subjects and who were treated unjustly by Damian, the Christian apostate and the unrighteous Muslim. Mysticus added that the Cypriots had not been able to resist Himerius, nor his war activities and inclination, but they were not participants in them. They were living on the separating borders between Byzantium and Islam without being involved in any of them. They were paying taxes to the two parties, receiving rulers of the two sides, but they had never participated in works of violence for any of them. They were depending more on the Arabs than on Byzantium. The letter, in fact, illustrates the suffering of the Cypriots because their Island was situated on the borders between East and West. We have already referred to part of that letter[31].

These were Mysticus's arguments in Baghdad through which we gather that the Byzantine power in Cyprus started to diminish and was restricted to sending rulers and receiving taxes. Due to the state of neutrality, the Cypriots did not participate in Byzantine military activities in Cyprus. Both Mysticus and the Patriarch of Constantinople strongly called for the necessity of thoroughly applying the state of neutrality and non-alignment in Cyprus as stated in the former treaties. The Cypriot mission to Baghdad succeeded in releasing the captives. The recognition of the bishop of Kythrea as "an instructor and commander" of the entire population" was announced afterwards. The people looked at Mysticus as the true loyal person to Cyprus. However, he soon passed away after a long life. Cyprus was not liberated before fifty years after his death, when Nicephorus Phocas, the Byzantine Emperor (AD 963-964) during his campaign on Kilikia conquered Cyprus once more and put an end to the state of neutrality.

The relation between Greek Cypriots and the Arabs was affected by the conflict between the Arabs and Byzantium. The Cypriots destroyed mosques in Cato Paphos, which suggested an atmosphere of enmity and suspicion that prevailed in the seventh century until AD

(31) [Greek] Hatzioannou, Vol. 5, pp. 157-170.

688, but it contradicted the atmosphere of love and friendship of the beginning of the eighth century. The destruction of mosques was probably accomplished by an order from the commander of the Byzantine fort (*Sarand colones*) opposite the mosques and the Arab colony. It was therefore one of the long bitter chapters between the Arabs and the Roumi.

Willibald used an expression that was turned into a truism when he said: "Cyprus is the Island lying between the Roumi and the people of the East." (*Insulam Cyprum quae est inter Graecos et Saracenos).* The expression totally agrees with what came in Mysticus's letter to the Abbasid Caliph. At the beginning of the eighth century, the Cypriots were not armed because peace was prevailing and there was friendship between the Roum and the people of the East that led Caliph Omar (AD 715-720) to eliminate the increase on the tribute or the tax added by Caliph Abd El-Malik. Peaceful co-existence, therefore, between the Roum and the people of the East had become deeply rooted. Each party lived in separate enclaves or cantons. Ibn Hauqal referred to that when he asserted the presence of two separate administrative bodies, civil and military, and that each had its own laws. He also implied that the Islamic authorities were pleased with the presence of the Christians under their protection. In fact, the Christians were behaving as their fellow-citizens. Ibn Hauqal also stated that the Island was divided into two parts, one half for the Byzantines and the other for the Arabs. Al-Massoudy remarked that the Cypriots had promised to be neutral between the two contending parties, i.e. the Roumi and the Muslims, and they paid one half of the taxes to the Muslims and the other half to Roumi. He also mentioned that Cypriots- both Christians and Muslims – were obliged to cooperate to defend the Island in the case of a foreign attack, and that the agreement between the two parties concerning this matter goes back to the beginning of Islam.

The state of neutrality and joint sovereignty was reiterated more than once and through several treaties. Willibald states that in AD 723: "*Sedebant inter Graecos et Saracenos et intermes fuerunt, quia pax*

maxima fuit et conciliatio inter Saracenos et Graecos". (Cypriots used to settle down between the Roum and the people of the East. They were the best intermediaries of peace and reconciliation prevalent between the people of the East and the Roum).

The Cypriots regularly sent taxes to the Caliph. Most probably the discovery of many Arab coins in Cyprus from the beginning of the eighth century refers to the increasing size of trade between Cyprus and the Arab World. When the Cypriots violated the agreement, the Arabs launched three punitive campaigns as happened in the years: AD 726, 743, 747, 773, 790, 806, and 911/912. These campaigns might be attributed to Byzantium's attempts to prove its military presence in Cyprus, which contradicts the agreements held between the two parties. The overwhelming victory of Leo III (AD 717-741) over the Arabs who besieged Constantinople in September AD 717/718 might have tempted him to arm the Greek part of it. Leo III was a strong character who would not miss that opportunity. He might have attempted to interfere in the affairs of Cyprus in AD 726 to put an end to the movement of the cult of Cypriot icons, which actually declared its end after his declaration. Certainly, his interference was considered a violation of the treaty with the Arabs.

The Arab Campaign of AD 743 was probably in contact with the Cypriots' union (*Koinon Kyprion*) and their alliance with the iconoclast, Artavasdes, who revolted against Constantine V, which raised the suspicions and fears of Arabs as it disclosed a Cypriot involvement in Byzantine politics. Thereupon, Constantine V banished Artavasdes in AD 743 and commanded Al-Yazid to allow the return of the exiled Cypriots in 744 because he considered the failure of the icons' advocators (iconodules) and the victory of the icons' destroyers in Cyprus a good indication that the Island was returning to its normal condition, i.e. its neutrality[32].

(32) Concerning the war of the icons in the Christian world as a reaction of the Arab cultural influence, see:
Hassanein Muh. Rabie, Studies in the History of the Byzantine State, Cairo: Dar El-Nahda El-Arbeya, 1986, pp. 102-155. =

In the fourth century of the Muslim calendar, Ibn Hani Al-Andalusi said in one of his poems:

قد كانت الروم محذوراً كتائبها ... وتدنى البلاد على شحط وتبعيد
وشاغبوا اليمّ ألفى حجة كَمَلاً ... وهم فوارس قارياته السود
فاليوم قد طُمست فيه مسالكهم ... من كل لاحب نهج الفلك مقصود
لو كنت سائلهم فى اليمّ ماعرفوا ... سُفع السفائن من عُفر الملاحيد

The Roum had their battalions menacing,
Approaching countries a long way off and remote;
Utterly disturbing the open sea, they had been,
Being the knights of its black continents;
But today their courses are wiped out,
From every corner the ship's course is destined.
If you asked them about the open sea, they wouldn't know
The ships' dark smoke from the dust of the gunpowder.

Abu Tammam (third Century H.) described Theophilus's defeat confronting Khalid Ben Yazid Al-Shibani, saying:

كأن بلاد الروم عُمت بصيحة ... فضمت حشاها أو رغا وسطها الشع
بصاغرة القصوى وطمين واقترى ... بلاد قريطاميس وابلك السكب

As if the Roumi Lands were overstruck with one loud cry,
Holding its core or bellowing in its midst the people
In far away *Sangarius* and *Tamin*, and it reached
The lands of *Cretamis*. Then the pouring started.

It is obvious that Sangarius, Tamin and Cretamis were Roumi positions in Asia Minor and Anatolia.

In the third century of the Muslim Calendar, Al-Buhtury described a

= [Arabic] Wesam Abd El-Aziz Farag and Joseph Nessim Youssef, Relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Omayyad State until the Middle of the Eighth Century AD., Alexandria: Public Book Organization, 1981, pp. 333-401. J.F. Aldridge, "The Cross and its Cult in an Age of Iconoclasm," Ph. D. Ohio State Univ., 1993, passim.

naval battle, saying:

يسوقون أسطولاً كأن سفينه   سحائب صيف من جهام وممطر
كأن ضجيج البحر بين رماحهم   إذا إختلفت ترجيع عود مجرجر
تُقارب من زحفهم، فكأنما   تؤلّف من أعناق وحش منفر
فما رمت حتى أجلت الحرب عن طُلى   مقطعة فيهم وهام مطّير
على حين لا نقع يطوحه الصبا   ولا أرض تُلفى للصريع المقطر

They lead a fleet as if it were a ship full of
Summer clouds, both rainy and rainless;
As if the sound of waves between their spears,
When frequently cast, were like a trailing music.
It makes their creeping seem closer, as if
It were taming the necks of a hateful beast.
As soon as it starts, the war discloses ruins
Scattered among them, while birds flee
But no stains can be removed by youth,
Nor land for the dripping bodies

Abu Muhammad Al Taimy (Second Century of Muslim Calendar) describes one of the Roumi forts and says:

هوت هرقلة لما أن رأت عجبا   حوائما ترتمي بالنفط والقار
كأن نيراننا في جنب قلعتهم   مصبغات على أرسان قصار التيمي

(Heraklah) fell when she saw wonders,
Pigeons cast with petrol and tar,
As if it were fire on the side of their castle
Set on short ropes.

There was always in Cyprus a movement against the icon destroyers. Some violent events were recorded in 754, 787 and 815 as well as at other times, but they did not extend to reach breaching the signed treaties with the Arabs. Harun El-Rashid started a campaign on Cyprus in AD 806 after the Cypriots breached the agreement by being involved in spying processes for the interest of the Byzantine fleet and after supplying it with help. Empress Irene had sent that fleet in AD

790 to confront the Arabs and their fleet that sailed to Cyprus. The presence of six Cypriot bishops in the 7th ecumenical council in AD 787, headed by Patriarch Tarasius who was also a Cypriot (AD 784-806) helped that matter. It was Patriarch Tarasius who called for the holding of the council through the suggestion of the former Patriarch of Constantinople, who was also a Cypriot called Anagnostes Paulus (AD 780-784). He was one of the hesitating destroyers of icons, as he seemed to be secretly worshipping them. Nevertheless, the attitude of these two Cypriot Patriarchs in the council of AD 787 is not an indication of the state of religion in Cyprus at that time. The general tendency, the icon cult. was prevalent with some exceptions. The reason is that Cypriots are conservative by nature, and Byzantium did not have a free hand in Cyprus[33].

On the other hand, the Cypriot Church continued its religious and worldly activities without interruption during the Arab Islamic reign in Cyprus. Scholars found there were no great gaps or no gaps at all in the presence of bishops in all Cypriot Churches, even in the small ones. It is worth noting that a series of major ecclesiastic writers appeared in Cyprus during that time. They were the ones that helped to preserve the Greek heritage and revive it, as well as the Christian heritage since it's advent in Cyprus. In addition to the above-mentioned Epiphanius in the 4th cen., there were Triphyllios the bishop of Ledra (Nicosia), and Philo from Karpasia who was Epiphanius's pupil and the author of *History of the Church*, which is lost now, and *A Commentary on the Song of Songs* ... etc.

During the fifth century A.D. in Cyprus, the *Lives of Saints* appeared, out of which we have three extant biographies; the biography of St. Barnabas: Heraclaidios; and Avxivios. In the sixth century A.D., a monk called Alexander lived in Constantia and he composed "hymns" of which we have two. One was about the holy cross, and the second in praise of St. Barnabas (*Laus Sancti Barnabae*).

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(33) Concerning the attitude of the Cypriot Orthodox Church towards the war of the icons, see: [Greek] A.N. Mitsidou (Nicosia 1989), passim.

One of the most famous writers of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. was George the Cypriot who was born in Lapethos and wrote *The Description of the Roman World* (*Descriptio Orbis Romani*) of which we have a small fragment.

In the seventh century A.D., a kind of religious literature flourished in Cyprus that had a folkloric flavour and colloquial spontaneous style. In that kind of literature, there was no trace of class conflict and it did not talk mainly about the bottom class of the society. The Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver (AD 610-619) preserved to us that kind of literature in his work, *The Life of St. Tycho*, about the bishop of Amathos. The bishop of Napoli, Leontios, preserved another part of that literature. He wrote *The Biography of St. John the Almsgiver*; the *Biography of St.* Symeon the Syrian Lunatic, and *A Hymn in Support of Sacred Icons*, which was recited in the seventh ecumenical council in AD 787.

Archbishop Arcadius wrote *Biography of Saints* and *Egkomia (praises)*. It was one of his pupils or disciples, perhaps, who wrote *The Biography of Philentolos*, about the son of Olympius, the book in which the notion of the separating place between the fire of hell and the garden of Eden (or *Limbus*) as already mentioned[34]. Bishop Theodorus of Paphos wrote *Praise to St. Spiridon*; while bishop Theodorus of Tremithos, who represented Cyprus in the sixth ecumenical council, wrote *Biography of St. John Chrysostomos*. In the same century, an unknown Cypriot author living in Constantinople wrote *Biography of St. Therapon*, the saint whose remains were taken to Constantinople when they deported the Cypriots (AD 691/692 – 698 or 705).

In the middle of the eighth century AD, the Cypriot monk Georgius wrote a well-known treatise called: *A Parable about the Icons*, which was a defence of the cult of the icons and attacked those who called for their destruction. In the council for the destruction of the

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(34) See above.

icons held in AD 754, Georgius was condemned, and in the seventh ecumenical council calling for preserving the icons and treating them as sacred (AD 787), the Cypriot archbishop in Constantia suggested a reconciliatory solution which was glorifying the icons instead of worshipping them. The council hailed the dignity of Georgius. The only extant work of the tenth century is *The Biography of St. Demetrianos*, which is an ever-fresh source of cultural and historical information.

When Byzantium regained its control over Cyprus after the Arab domination, a new stage started for the Greek Cypriot community. Though the internal and external troubles did not stop, new realms for Greek Cypriot culture started appearing in the horizon. The administrative system was rebuilt. Although many authorities for the Church were annulled, the state encouraged the building of new monasteries in sensitive areas that could be defended at the top of mountains or even on the coast, to be included in the large security system adopted by the empire. The Cypriots played a prominent role in this security plan, though other communities helped them particularly the Armenians, the Maronites and the Albanians.

Some monasteries built during that time (the eleventh and twelfth centuries) are:

A) On the middle chain of mountains: Makhairas, Phorviotissa, Chryssoroyiatissa, and Neophytos.

B) On the southern chain and the coast: Katharon, Kriniontissa, Hilarion, Kerynia, Makar (Armenian), Kantara (Arabic name), and Chrysostomos.

C) On the southeastern headland: Andrew, Nicholas, ... etc.

One of the renowned personalities of this epoch was Neophytos, the founder of the monastery bearing his name. He was a prolific writer. He wrote *Commentary on the Holy Book; Epistles; Theological studies; Notebooks on the Monasteries; Resurrection*; ... etc. his writings include a treasury of historical facts associated with his

autobiography. When he set about writing *Discourses* (*Homilies*), and *Saints Hymns*, in 1176, he was considered bold and daring. People around him looked at him in surprise. Neophytos mentioned the fall of Constantinople in the hands of the Crusaders in 1204, and described the reaction of Cypriots that did not greatly differ from the reaction of the rest of the people of the Empire. He considered the fall of Constantinople as a convenient punishment for the adulterous Constantinople (*tes pornes poleos*) because it exaggerated in its extravagance, corrupt power, luxury, prosperity and relaxation. He says in his book: "We celebrated the city as the queen of cities, but God considered her as a filthy whore ... and those kings who committed adultery with her, stood away watching her anguish while fire was rising of its ruins. They were crying and wailing." In another place, he expressed people's despair of the fall of Constantinople, and how they showed their allegiance to the Empire of Nicaea. On his part, Neophytos showed despondence to the extent that he was not able to ignite the spirit of resistance. The reason was because the capital city neglected the States. His judgement and analysis of the fall of Cyprus in the hands of Richard the Lion Heart and the dark destiny of the Island since that date (1191), as the Island was pulled apart from its national and cultural atmosphere, touch the hearts in the great compassion for Greek Cypriots and their homeland. The Crusaders were called thieves by him, comparing them with the 'devil' Saladin Al-Ayoubi, the Crusaders' vanquisher. In sum, Neophytos represents the last in the glorious chain of Byzantine celebrities. Therefore, his writings occupy an important place in the history of Cyprus.

Archbishop Nicolaus (Nicholas) Laos Musalon (1107-1115) was also one of the reputed Byzantines. At a later time, he became "an ecumenical Patriarch". Though not a Cypriot by origin, he played a major role in the history of that epoch. He stood against the commander Eumathios Philokales for his injustice, tyranny and his inhibition of the people. We know this from a poem he composed which has become an important historical source.

Likewise, archbishop Ioannes Kretikos (= of Crete 1152-1174)

was well-known. Education in Cyprus had been limited to schools supervised by the church, and those who wanted to further their education headed for Constantinople. It was the case of Georgius Gregorius, the Cypriot who became "an ecumenical patriarch (1283-1289). He was one of the celebrities of the Byzantine world in the field of literature. However, he belonged to the second phase of Latin domination[35].

One of the prominent changes in the administration of Cyprus in the middle of the eleventh century was transferring the capital from Constantia to Lefkosia in the middle plain, which had become for a while a centre for Greek life on the cultural and social levels. The papacy, however, remained as it was in Constantia until the middle of the thirteenth century AD. It had expanded towards the south and was known since the seventh century as *Amochustos* or Famagusta in the Latin period.

Transferring the capital was dictated by the internal and external security measures, because there had been many security gaps. For example, there were the revolts made by the two clerks Theophilus Erotikos (1042) and Duke Rhapsomates (1092). The commander who put an end to the revolt movements was Manuel Vutumites and it was him who played the principal part in building Kykkos monastery.

Cyprus played a vivid role in confronting the Crusades which threatened the Byzantine Empire, for the Island was the starting and the communicating point for the two parties; the Byzantine and the Crusade. During that period it was proved that the Hellenism of Cyprus depended greatly on the existence of Constantinople though increasingly threatened by dangers[36].

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(35) See above.

(36) For more information about the history of Cyprus in Byzantine and Middle Ages, see:

[Greek] Hatzioannou, Vol. 5 passim.

[Greek] Chrsanthou K (Nicosia 1967), passim.

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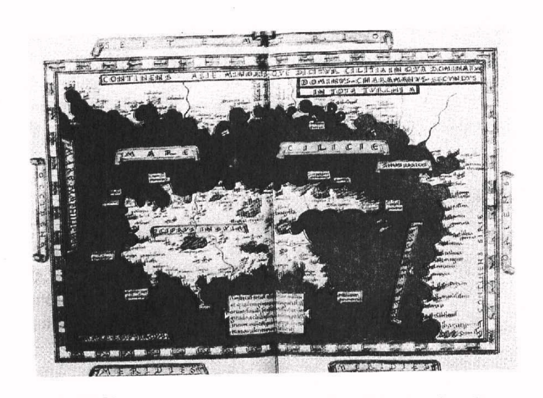


Fig. No. (50)

= [Greek] Hatzedemetriou, pp. 129-162.
Wesam Farag Abd El-Aziz and Joseph Nessim Youssef, op. cit., pp. 29-117 et passim.

3- Franco-Latin Rule and the Crusades

In AD 1104 and near the city of Tripoli in Lebanon, the ruler of Lebanon received aids from both Cyprus and, Kilikia against the Crusade commander Bohemond. In 1115, the Muslim ruler of Beirut escaped to Cyprus and surrendered himself to the authorities after his defeat at the hand of Baldwin I of Jerusalem. About twelve years later, Venice launched a campaign on Cyprus as a punitive action for its refusal to grant commercial and marine privileges to the Venetians while recognising the same privileges for the people of the Byzantine East. In the meantime, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Symion, accompanied by his priests reached Cyprus on the eve of the first crusade, i.e. in AD 1097. He died in 1099. In the period from 1099-1100, the Crusade commander, Raymond IV of Saint Gills, the ruler of Latakia, attempted with the help of the Byzantine ruler to launch an attack

He employed Cypriot workers in his attempt to establish the Raymond camp in 1108. Cyprus greatly suffered during the wars of the Crusades[37] at the hands of the two contending parties. It seems that this human aggression was in alliance with a sustained series of natural catastrophes, particularly the earthquakes, to add to the suffering. In 1191, Richard the Lion-Heart conquered Cyprus and started a new bitter era in the history of the Island.

In fact, Cyprus was turned into a (an asset) Richard the Lion-Heart played with in the fields of politics and war. After his abortive attempts to exchange half of Flanders for half of the Island, he sold the Island of Cyprus, all of it including the monks and the Knights Templars[38], in 1192. The Knights Templars were a class of

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(37) Concerning the Crusades in general and their impact on Cyprus, see:
Saeed Abd El-Fattah Ashur, Cyprus and the Crusades, passim.
[Arabic] Qassem Abdu Qassem, The Essence of the Crusades: the Ideology, the Motives, the Consequences, Cairo: Ain For Social and Human Studies, 1993.

(38) See: [Arabic] Nabila Ibrahim, Troops of Knight Monks in Syrian Lands in the 12th and 13th Centuries, Cairo, 1994.

professional knights whose power and position increased at the expense of the King himself or even Christianity because they were very corrupt and committed all kinds of evil, starting from theft to rape. After the battle of 1187, Saladin put to death all who were captured of them. They were about two hundred and he wanted to make of them an example and to give a lesson. A bloody revolt started in Nicosia led by a Greek monk, one of the relatives of Isaac Comnenus, to protest against the idea of selling the Island's to such a gang of corrupt people. That abortive revolution is considered one of the whitest pages of national resistance against foreign occupation in the whole history of Cyprus.

After this revolution, the Island was returned to Richard the Lion Heart who allowed Guy de Lusignan, the Count of Java (*Joppa*) and Ashkelon and the deputy of the king of the Latin Kingdom in Jerusalem, to buy the Island from the Knights Templars, a feudalist dynasty whose offshoot ruled Cyprus from 1192 to 1489. The same dynasty reigned in Jerusalem as well[39]. The feudalist system established by Guy de Lusignan in Cyprus made the new comers – the Crusaders – its main supporters. Most of them came from the Crusade countries, but some came from the neighbouring states; the Latin, the Syriacs, the Armenians, and others. Lusignan granted them the extensive lands left by its Greek-Cypriot owners who had been forced to desert these lands to the mountains. The middle class thus had a heavy blow by the advent of European bourgeois of Crusaders who obtained enormous privileges and the Greek-Cypriots were turned into slaves and servants to the feudalist European masters coming with the Crusade armies..

Therefore, it could generally be said that the period of Framco or Lusignan rule was a hard time for Cyprus. It was a period of unjust exploitation and extreme inhibition for the Greek-Cypriots, the native inhabitants of the Island. They were destined to be involved in a new stage of conflict, and silent war aiming at preserving their national,

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(39) [Greek] Christophidou, (Nicosia 1992), pp. 203-250 Beraud, op. cit., pp. 26-42.

religious an cultural identity, facing the new arrogant masters, who were few in number but possessed much technology, power and tyranny.

Cyprus had become a refuge and a settlement for many lines of soldiers coming from the holy lands, Armenia, Antioch, Acre and others since AD 1204, i.e. during the fourth Crusade in which the king of Cyprus Amalric participated. However, he eventually withdrew from the war and signed a treaty with Sultan Al-Malik in AD 1205 extending for many years. He caused the Greek Cypriot people more suffering and pain as he supported and stabilised the Latin rule in the Island.

Amalric (AD 1194-1205) was the first Lusignan crowned king in Cyprus. Through his marriage, he had the right of the crown in Jerusalem. Emperor Alexus III of Constantinople attempted to get the help of Pope Innocent in AD 1201 to regain Cyprus in return for offering provisions for the Crusades. Under strong papal pressure, Amalric set about a policy to lead to the submission of Cypriot Orthodox Church to the Latin Church recently established in Cyprus. It meant putting an end to the independence of the Cypriot church, which would deprive the Cypriot Greek people of its normal and traditional leadership. Consequently, we can understand the reason behind the outbreak of the resistance and guerilla war led by Kanakis who went so far as to kidnap Amalric family. They were not released except after the intervention of King Leo II, the King of Armenia. This nationalist movement was aborted and they put an end to the revolt that failed to achieve its aims, though it succeeded in asserting the national identity of Cyprus. This movement was an addition to the revolution of AD 1192 to be included among the chain of Cypriot national resistance events of foreign occupation. In return, a form of co-operation with the occupation was achieved through the majority of Cypriot upper class, who adapted themselves to the circumstances to protect their interests.

Some of the Greek-Cypriots who served in the Lusignan royal court created a tradition of diplomatic messages in Greek with the sultan of Iconium (1214-1216). They were the people who resumed Byzantine traditions as the noblemen of the regional areas started to build new churches and to decorate the old ones. It was them who saved the money essential to erect Panagia tou Arakos church in Lagoudera in AD 1192. It was at a time before the beginning of the persecution of Orthodoxy in a regular way. It was Hugh I (AD 1205-1218) who occupied some ports in Asia Minor and the Byzantine fortress in Kyrenia with the aim of protecting the north of Cyprus against Turkish greeds. He took great care of the transportation roads with Europe, the normal ally to his kingdom in Cyprus in the face of any national disobedience of the people.

During the reign of Henry I (AD 1218-1253), there were some signs of public excitement after the unjust resolution adopted by the Latin ruling class in Cyprus in AD 1221 and 1222, i.e. in the council of Famagusta. The contents of the resolutions can be summarised in reducing the number of Orthodox bishoprics from 14 to 4, which is the same number of Latin bishoprics established lately in Cyprus. It was also decided to reduce the judiciary authority of the Greek-Cypriot Church. As to the diminishing of the bishoprics, it was undertaken by not appointing a new bishop to every church whose bishop passed away. The situation went on like this until 1260. All these measures had a great effect on the Greek Cypriots who were unjustly treated. They kept retaining their close ties with the patriarchal council in Nicosia since 1204. The reaction of the Latins was violent. For example, their archbishop in the church of Nicosia, Eustorge de Montaigu, ordered the burning of thirty Orthodox monks in the Kantara monastery as heretics because they refused to accept the Latin teachings. This painful event happened on 19 May 1231. No one stirred except Germanus II, the Patriarch of Constantinople who presented an official protest to Pope Gregory IX.

The great monk Hesychastes, Gregory of Sinai (1280-1346) visited Cyprus for a year. He was a mystic who abstained from worldly

matters. St. Sabbas the Junior spent several years in the twenties of the fourteenth century on the Island. He was well received by the Greek Cypriots and looked down upon by the Latins. All that helped to stabilise Orthodoxy in Cyprus, to protect it against the attempts to dissolve it in the new community that arrived in Cyprus, and to strengthen the Greek people. The conservative spirit was strengthened and sustained for several centuries. Many revolts took place and victims fell. They were called by the Patriarch of Constantinople Callystots I as 'martyrs' in AD 1359.

The Mamluks invaded Cyprus in AD 1426 and declared that they came to punish the pirate Cypriots who trespassed the Sultan's territory and his property. In *Al-Elmam* (*Comprehension*) by Al Nuwairy, the following is mentioned:

> ***"As was stated–God knows – when Peter the owner of Cyprus – May God protect him –was crowned after the destruction of his father Riok, he sent to the Sultan Al-Malik Al-Nasser Hassan asking him to permit him to go to Tyre on the coast of Syria to sit at a column there, according to the custom of anyone who possessed Cyprus, since his ownership would not be complete– according to the assumption–except by sitting at that column, or in a place there for the king to sit in. His reign then would become valid as well as his rule of his subjects. The Sultan looked down upon him and prevented him from going to Tyre. That was the cause of –God knows– his invasion of Alexandria. (pp.94-5).***

Furthermore, Al Nuwairy and Ibn Batuta have mentioned a list of the type of ships that attacked Alexandria. Al Nuwairy, for instance, states the following: warships containing differernt races "reached her [i.e. Alexandria]. It was said the Venetians came with him in fourteen loads; the Genoans in two; the Rhodians in ten; the French in five; and the rest came from Cyrpus". It seems that Ibn Iass has taken from the author of *Al-Elmam* or through another who quoted him. The text of Ibn Iass conforms to what is mentioned in *Al-Elmam*, except in what concerns the number of Venetian loads.

As to the duration of this Cypriot invasion of Alexandria, Al-Nuwairy states in his book: "The period the Francs stayed when they came to Alexandria, conquered the city until the last who departed was eight days. They came on Thursday the twenty-first of Muharram in 767 H and the last of them departed on Thursday the twenty-eight of the same month. The reason of staying these days was to watch from the sea who would come for rescue from Egypt. When they watched from their ships, they saw soldiers coming like spreading locusts preceded by Prince… etc. (p. 110)[40].

It was the Mamlukes who had defeated Famagusta in 1425 and its rulers of Genoa were cooperating then with the Mamlukes in their invasion of the whole of Cyprus. The Mamlukes captured many of the Cypriots, and even the King himself. Thereupon, peasants all over the Island revolted, they plundered the houses and farms of the rich and appointed a commander for every city. They then selected a king from Lefkoniko, Alexis, who was working in the royal court but had come originally from Katomilia. When he started his reign, he killed a number of noblemen and established an army. But, a revolution erupted which ended with putting him to death in Nicosia on May 12/1427.

The Cypriot historian, Leontios Makhaeras (c. 1350-1450) wrote that his father had good relations with the Lusignan family, therefore, he grew up favouring the Lusignan reign. He mastered French language and was an eyewitness to the event he wrote about. As his class tendency was stronger than his feeling of nationalism, he did not sympathise with the peasants' revolution and described them as wolfish villagers. He was even keen on the return of the King captured by the Mamlukes, who actually came back on 15/5/1427 after paying a large ransom and agreeing to pay an annual tribute to the Mamlukes. Makhaeras's *Chronicle* starts with St. Helena's visit to Cyprus and

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(40) See: [Arabic] Abd Al-Aziz Salem, History of Alexandria and Its Culture in the Islamic Period, 2nd ed., Alexandria 1969, pp. 309-318. Also: Al-Nuwairy, An Illustration of the Incident of Alexandria, Alexandria, 1969.

ends with the ascension of John II to the throne of Cyprus in AD 1432. His discourse of the epoch is concentrated on the years AD 1359-1432[41].

John II was the son of King Ganos. He was an immoral eunuch, but this did not mean he was not intelligent. Religious affairs were in good condition because the Queen came from a Greek origin. She was Helena Palaeologina (AD 1442-1458), the daughter of Cleopa Malatesta and Theodore II Palaeologos, the Lord of Morea. As a regent, she was able to support the power of the Greek Church and to stop oppression against its followers. She was even able to annul the Cypriot seal "*Bulla Cypria*" followed since AD 1260. Helena Palaeologina was able to rekindle the spark of life and activity in the Orthodox Church, in the monastery of Mangana in Nicosia, in particular. It was the monastery that the monks of Constantinople resorted to after the fall of the city in the hands of the Ottomans in AD 1453. Helena Palaeologina then had to face a dangerous enemy who was the Dominican Papal emissary, Andrea de Pera. He had the authority to use force to oblige Greek bishops to pay their allegiance to the Latin Church and condemn Orthodoxy, according to the resolutions of the ecclesiastical council in Florence.

Helena Palaeologina had another enemy. It was Galesius de Montolif, the papal nominee for the Latin archbishopric. She had been trying her best to appoint a Greek in that position and finally succeeded in dismissing Montolif from Cyprus in 1447. When she passed away on 11/4/1458, she was buried in the Dominican monastery, contrary to what she wished, for she had asked to be buried in Mangana monastery.

In 1388, James I (1382-1398) made an alliance with five European countries; Romania, Pera, Lesbos, Chios and Rhodes.

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(41) R.M. Dawkins, Leontios Makhairas Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled: Chronicle, Vol. II, Oxford, 1932. Cf. Nadia Anaxagorou, Narrative and Stylistic Structures in the Chronicle of Leontios Machairas. Leventis Foundation. Nicosia 1998. passim.

According to the treaty the alliance extended to ten years. It aimed at blocking the Aegean Sea against the Ottoman Turks and limiting their presence to Asia Minor. However, this alliance did not last long, therefore, Turkey fought each country seperately and each had to struggle to survive, offering many concessions.

James II (AD 1464-1473) made a grave mistake when he accepted to marry the "daughter of Venice", called Aikaterine Cornaro, in AD 1471. That mistake cost Greek-Cypriots a great deal. After diminishing Genoa's power on Cyprus, Venice had the upper hand on the Island, particularly after the fall of Famagusta in 1464. James II died in AD 1473, killed perhaps by poison put by the agents of Venice. Then, his younger son James III died in 1474, and Katerine's authority on the Island became merely nominal. Charlotte, the half-Greek, considered herself then a Queen over Cyprus. Her claims were just claims, and it remained so until her death in AD 1478. However, two years before her death she abdicated her throne for the Duke of Savoy. In 1489, Venice decided to remove the mask of "protection" and exchange it for the mask of occupation, and so announced its direct sovereignty on Cyprus. Katerine was forced to give up her position to her mother for she was the daughter of Venice, and had to leave her kingdom, withdraw and live in peace in her optional exile in Asolo. However, from there, she maintained her good relations with Cyprus.

From Asolo too, she vainly supported the election of Papasymeon as a Greek bishop for Famagusta, instead of Andreas who paid heavy bribes to the ruling authorities and won the election. Experience proved that the Venetian occupation was not better for Cyprus than the European Lusignan one. It lasted from AD 1489-1570, during which Greek Cypriots met many problems and suffered from straitened up circumstances in their fertile but neglected Island. At that time, internal and external trade, agriculture, systems of education and public health were in decline. Traditional cultural centres were darkened. The number of population was decreased because of poverty and need. The Island was infested with diverse epidemic diseases for the negligence of health affairs. There were only

seven working physicians on the Island as many others had migrated to Venice. That was contrary to what happened in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when Cyprus attracted many Byzantines and Europeans. As for the Greek Cypriots who migrated to Venice, they were mostly skilful workers and artisans, experienced in various fields. Therefore, there sprang among them some remarkable figures and after 1571 a few of them returned home loaded with the fruit of Italian civilization of books, gifts, and icons for churches, monasteries and houses.

During that time the Turkish threat to Cyprus became a tangible and fearful fact. Venice set about defending Cyprus, but the danger became paramount after the Turks had occupied Rhodes in 1522. The Venetians did not allow many of the Cypriots to join the army, but only those who were their allies (*Francomati*). In 1562, Bernardo Sagredo described their condition by saying that chaos was widespread in a disturbing way; judges were corrupt and encouraged the oppression of the lower classes. The matter was so grave that they feared a public riot. The coast guards were formed from the foreign communities during the day, and from the allies of the occupation at night. So, they became an unbearable burden as the authorities allowed many of them to buy the period of their service to become free. It was a system that resembled the "exchange" system known in Egypt in the 19th century.

The general tendency to get rid of the military service reflected the increasing despondency of the ruling system. Eventually, a general riot broke out on the Island in 1562 led by James Diassorinos Didaskalos. He was a teacher and a man of letters, and he was a nephew to Voivode (or Voievode). He opened a school and worked as a physician in Cyprus and filled the hearts of Cypriots to revive their national Hellenic tradition. Captain Megadukas (or Megaducus) joined them with his two thousand knights. Some pro-Greek French noblemen or anti-Venetians joined him as well. Diassorinos established secret relations with the Ottomans. When his conspiracies were discovered he was arrested in Paphos and put to death in Nicosia in

August 1562. Megadukas was met with the same destiny, and the revolt was suppressed as many others before it against occupation. Until September 1563, Venice was still preoccupied with the revolt's repercussions. Finally, Venice accepted the principle of allowing Greek Cypriots to join the military service. On the eve of the Turkish invasion, there were about five thousand.

In the later period of the Venetian rule in Cyprus, the diminishing role of the Latin Church was remarked. The church was abandoned by its bishops who stayed in Italy longer than their sojourn in Cyprus. It was the Greek Cypriot bishops who were performing the prayers and the rites in these abandoned Latin churches. In order to understand the relation between the national Greek church and the Latin church in Cyprus we have to go back a little while. It was a distinct sign in the Cypriot ecclesiastic history to have the Cypriot seal (*Bulla Cypria*) for Pope Alexander IV (AD 1260). Accordingly, it was decided to transfer the archbishop's headquarters from Constantia (Arsinoe-Ammokhostos) to Solea to be under the control and administration of the Latin bishops in Nicosia. Therefore, Constantia-Ammokhostos bishopric merely became a local one and a temporary residence for bishop Rhizokarpasso. The election of any Greek bishop had to be subjected to the approval and ratification of the Latin bishop in the bishopric. He had to pledge loyalty in an oath in his presence. These strict measures – and others- against the Greek church happened at the time of the seventh Crusade (AD 1248-1254) and the settlement of Louis IX in Cyprus on his way to launch his campaign on Egypt in AD 1248.

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) participated in the Dominican theological battle. In his thesis, *De Regno*, dedicated to King Hugh II (1253-1267), he gave hymns of praise and thanks for services offered by the King to the Dominican order in Cyprus. In fact, Hugh II was the first Lusignan European king to be buried in the Church of St. Dominic in Nicosia, which reflects the close ties between the Lusignan dynasty and the Dominican order at that time. In his works, Thomas Aquinas maintained the traditional notion of the autocratic ruler who

enjoys the capacity of self-control.

As to the role of Cyprus in the Crusades, Dr. Saeed Ashur in his book, *Cyprus and the Crusades*, says:

> ***It is well known that each of the Byzantines and the Crusaders had an attitude overcome by antagonism since the arrival of the first Crusade to the East. Troubles and hardships confronting the men of the campaign on their way to the Syrian lands across the Byzantine State in the Balkan and Asia Minor, in addition to the conspicuous hatred they found in Constantinople, all these made them – as well as Europe – say that the Byzantine State was the cause of all troubles and misfortunes that met this crusade and the successive ones***[42].

There is no exaggeration in saying that the involvement of Cyprus in the circle of the Crusade battles through invasion made it the most important outcome of the third Crusade, not only in the history of Cyprus and the Crusades, but also in the whole history of the East. The Latin East that was about to be cast in the darkness of the Mediterranean by Saladin was destined to be reborn amidst the surrounding waves on the shores of the Cypriot Island. After its conquest, Cyprus became a constant centre to supply the remaining Crusaders in the East with the essential provisions. The Island had also become an axis for many of the Crusades from the East and the West for many centuries. The idea became clear to the Crusaders during the siege of Acre (1190-1191), i.e. before completing the conquest of Cyprus. They found it a close-by resort and a means of communication between them and the West. No wonder then that the Crusaders were overjoyed when Richard the Lion Heart occupied Cyprus because it became "a power for the Europeans". This is confirmed by the description of pleasure overcoming the Crusaders when Richard reached Acre due to his occupation of Cyprus.

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(42) Saeed Abd Al-Fattah Ashur, Cyprus and the Crusades, p. 21.

As to the importance of that in the history of Cyprus itself, it is because the Island was not only involved in the circle of the Crusades, but also because it was involved in the circle of Western political life. Notwithstanding, the matter started with a troubled affliction, as the Island became under the domination of Catholic Latin feudalism, whose main business was to satisfy its private interests. In the mean time, most of the Greek Cypriots continued to consider those rulers as foreigners or aliens among them. "What was the importance of conquering Cyprus for King Richard?" they seemed to be saying. Apparently, he had not undertaken that expensive war process to realise part of his crusading programme, but it was due to the circumstances which helped him to do a favour to the Crusaders in general and to the crusade kingdom of Jerusalem in particular.

Since the advent of Christianity until the Crusades, Cyprus had played a major role on the road of pilgrimage to the holy lands. It was the starting point as well as the resort for the oppressed and the dismissed from Asia and Africa. On the eve of the first Crusade in 1097, the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, Symion, and his priests and monks fled to Cyprus. From there, they sent aids and provisions to the Crusaders across Antioch. When they realised that these aids were insufficient, specially at the time of famine that spread among Crusaders, Taticius the representative of Emperor Alexius Comnenus, moved to Cyprus in 1098 to supervise the organisation of supplies and provisions himself in a more efficient way than before, particularly for those who were besieging Antioch.

At almost the same time, Latakia, the farthest Byzantine harbour to the South, was delivered to Robert of Normandy to rule it as a representative of Emperor Alexius I. But he was intolerably autocratic and tyrannic, so the inhabitants dismissed him and called for a Byzantine garrisson from Cyprus. The domination of Byzantium on Cyprus in 1098 had the advantage of giving the Island a role to play during the Crusades. In fact, the Cypriots under the Latin rule and during the Crusades were able to develop good relations with their Muslim neighbours on a pragmatic basis, which was to exchange

benefits. However, they did not quite succeed to do so with the Latin occupiers who came from the Christian Western world and whose wreckless ambitions had abject consequences for the Crusades on the one hand, and for the Cypriots on the other. They were behind great troubles and catastrophes, for the fourth Crusade ended with results that had grave consequences on Holy Lands and Cyprus. Constantinople was too weak to protect Syria or to rescue Palestine and Cyprus. With the death of Amalric in 1205, Jerusalem was lost and successive waves of people from the Holy Lands, Armenia, Antioch, Acre, and others, who became homeless as result of the war, poured into Cyprus.

During the fifth Crusade in 1218, Cyprus was the meeting place whose King, Hugh I, was about to take part in the crusading campaign but was snatched by death on January 10th 1218. It was Cyprus, however, that provided supplies and provisions for the ships. During the Crusades, Egypt was the safety valve for Jerusalem, Constantinople and Cyprus. In 1220, the Egyptian forces sank and captured all Crusading Ships near Limassol. In 1248, Louis IX arrived with a number of French Princes in Egypt through Cyprus as the latter was the starting point for his Crusade on Egypt. Furthermore, he meant to delude and mislead others about his following step after settling in Cyprus. There, Louis IX received delegates from most of the neighbouring countries including the emissary of the ruler of Mongolia who arrived with a message the contents of which stated that he considered Louis IX as one of his followers!

Dr. Joseph Nessim Youssef deals with this Crusade in his book, *The Crusade Aggression on Egypt: The Defeat of Louis IX in Nansura and Farskur*. He explains the situation:

> *When the Crusaders reached Cyprus, they felt at home with their own folk and that they were not strangers on the Island, which was then under the reign of the Lusignan dynasty, the Latin Christian. The Island, therefore, was a friendly country. Henry I Lusignan, the King of the Island, welcomed Louis IX*

and his men in the capital of his Kingdom, Nicosia. His people and the representatives who were on the Island participated in welcoming the Crusade army and the French King.

The French campaign was reassured about its stay in Cyprus and remained there for about eight months (September 1248 - May1249) before moving towards the Egyptian territories. Western sources have provided us with separate information concerning this long epoch spent by the Crusaders on the Island. The most important incident is perhaps that mentioned only by the western contemporary historian Guillaume de Nangey. He mentioned that the Crusaders arrested some people who were sent by the Sultan of Egypt, Al-Saleh Ayub, to poison the food of Louis IX and the commanders of his army in order to get rid of them. However, since other references, whether Western or Eastern, have not referred to this dangerous incident, it is hard to believe it. If the conspiracy had been really hatched, we would have found the Crusaders who participated in the campaign as Granville, Geoffrey de Pelliet and King Louis himself exaggerate in its description.

During Louis IX's stay in Cyprus, Empress Mary the wife of Baldwin II, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, came to the Island. She was the daughter of Jean de Brienne the prince of Acre and the supreme king of Jerusalem. She came to ask him and the authoritative Crusaders to stabilise her husband's shaken position in the Capital of his kingdom. However, she was only met with sympathy and attractive promises which flew away with the wind as soon as she departed. The Crusaders stayed in Cyprus for about eight months despite the desire of the French King to advance quickly towards Egypt, due to the advice of the barons and commanders who thought that the rest of the army could still arrive at the Island. They decided then to spend the winter there and start war operations the following spring. As a matter of fact, this long period spent by the Europeans on the island without undertaking any useful task did them more harm than good[43].

(43) Saeed Abd El-Fattah Ashur, The Crusade Movement: A Bright Page in =

Hugh III (AD 1267-1284), John II (AD 1284-1285) and Henry II – the epileptic (AD 1285-1324) saw the fall of the European Kingdoms of Syria as well as the fall of their best castles, forts, and the trade centres in the hands of the Egyptians. So, Latakia fell in 1287, Tripoli in 1289, and finally Acre in 1291. What is striking is that Tyre had witnessed in 1285 festivals and celebrations for two weeks on the occasion of the coronation of Henry II as King of Jerusalem. He then hastened to rescue Acre before the final attack on 18/5/1291. When Acre fell new waves of Syrian refugees and defeated Latins rushed into Cyprus, which became an isolated Christian Island swimming in the sea of Islam.

Since the fourteenth century, the Greek-Cypriot impact on Latin Cypriots has become stronger and more manifested, particularly after the Greek-Cypriots turned towards their church, supporting it through different means. They established huge and grand Cathedrals, as for instance, Saint George Cathedral in Ammokhostos – Famagusta, which was annexed to the smaller Cathedral of Saint Symion. This took place between 1360 and 1370. During the period of bishop Johannes Mantzas, St. George's Cathedral was constructed opposite the Latin Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which had been built between 1359 and 1369. Notwithstanding, Nicosia the Capital of the State and the Latin Church kept advancing at the expense of other cities. The harsh words used by the Latin archbishop in Cyprus, Philippe de Chambarhac, in 1350 against mixed marriages on the island indicated the rising increase of the close ties between the Latins and the Greek-Cypriot community, which could have led to the Hellenising of the Latins, that is to turn them to the Hellenic culture and Orthodox ecclesiasm. We can easily say that at the end of the fourteenth century, the Latin theological ideas were about to retreat and a new tendency towards the assistance of monk Gregory Palamas started. This became manifested in intellectual works and in literature. As to the majority of Cypriots they were against Palamas since the

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= the History of Islamic Struggle in the Middle Ages, 2 Vols. Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian, 1986, Vol. II (4th ed), pp. 831 ff.

middle of the fourteenth century, headed by Georgius Lapithes who was born in Lapitho. He was highly and widely cultured, composed moral poems and wrote philosophical articles, astrological and religious writings based on Latin patterns. However, the Byzantine church in Constantinople adopted his views and writings that became part of its cultural material and intellectual treasure until 1576. Whereas the Archbishop of Salonica was the most anti-monastic intellectual. He had Cypriot roots and gathered around him a number of Cypriot followers as Hyacinthus (1345-1346). Moreover, Lapithes was one of the friends of King Hugh IV (AD 1324-1358) [44].

During the middle of the fourteenth century then, a kind of rapprochement took place between Greeks and Latins in Cyprus that led in turn to a rapprochement with Byzantium. The result was that they temporarily occupied Smyrna, but they could not stop the Turkish approach. The close ties between Greeks and Latins continued in the Island during the reign of Peter I (1358-1369) who launched crusading campaigns against the Turks and the Mamlukes. He was finally killed by a group of his followers, and his mistress Joanna L'Allemand was persecuted after his death. Therefore, the Cypriot folk songs known as *Arodaphnoussa* composed on the pattern of Latin folklore started in Cyprus, as manifested in the song "A Hundred Words About Love" (*Hekatologa*) and others. At the same time, the troubadour songs found their way from Europe to Cyprus and were adapted to the requirements of life in a Greek manner. It is worth noting here that the troubadour songs – according to the latest studies – come from an Eastern Arabic origin across Andalusia. Thus, we can understand the secret of its prevalence in Cyprus, which is close to the East and the Arabs. Pastoral songs like "The Song of the Red Goat", and dirges (*Moirologia*) that have obvious features with the Latin song (*Erotokrito*) and Christ's pains were also common. To sum up, we can easily say that there is a tangible mixture between Byzantium, the

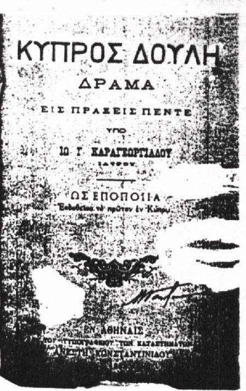
(44) [Greek] Chrysanthou K., pp. 40-42.

Latins, and the Arab culture in Cyprus that requires more research and study[45].



Fig. No. (51)

(45) [Greek] Hatzedemetriou, pp. 163-223.
[Greek] Hatzioannou, Mesaionike, pp. 358 ff, 366-369.
A. Nicolaou, La Chanson d'Arodaphnoussa des origines franques a la tradition populaire actuelle. Memoire de Maitrise Montpellier 1981-1982.
Concerning languages and dialects used in Cyprus during the Middle Ages and the blending of the local language with others coming from outside, see the above ref. p. 141 ff. Compare with the following:
Beraud, op. cit. Pp. 27-92. Stephano Lusignan: Description de toute l'isle de Chypre, Bologn, 1580.


ΚΥΠΡΟΣ ΔΟΥΛΗ
ΔΡΑΜΑ
ΕΙΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ
ΥΠΟ
ΩΣ ΕΠΟΠΟΙΙΑ
ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ




ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ
ΧΩΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ
ΓΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ
ΚΥΠΡΟΥ
ΕΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ

Fig. No. (52)

CHAPTER III

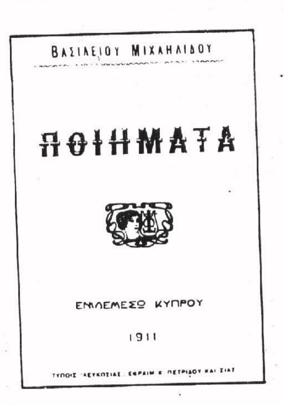
OTTOMAN OCCUPATION (AD. 1570-1878)

“Συμφωνως με τους λοιπους αδελφους ημων ελληνας, θελομεν προσπαθησει δια την ελευθεριαν της ειρηνικης ημων παλαι μεν μακαριας ηδη δε τρισαθλιας νησου Κυπρου“

" For our other Greek brothers, we seek help for the sake of liberating our peaceful Island Cyprus, the blessed as well as the miserable"

(Declaration of 7 December 1821 signed by Spyridon of Trimythos and Ioanixus Kyprianou)





ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΟΥ

ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΑ

ΕΝ ΛΕΜΕΣΩ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ

1911

ΤΥΠΟΙΣ ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑΣ ΕΦΡΑΙΜ Κ. ΠΕΤΡΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΙΑΣ

Fig. No. (53)

1- The Ottomans Are More Cruel Than Latins

In his book *Modern and Contemporary Islamic World*, Dr. Galal Yehia says about the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus:

> *On 27 March 1570, the Ottoman State sent a deputy to Venice asking for handing over Cyprus according to the historic rights, but the Republic's Senate rejected the Ottoman request and Venice decided to fight. Therefore, Venice contacted the King of Spain to assist in this war and started to prepare its fleet and arm it. It also sent a military force made of a few thousand soldiers to support the defence of Cyprus. The Spanish fleet appeared in April 1570 under the command of Andrea Dorea at Napoli. However, it was cautious of the commander Ali whose fleet had already captured Bizerte and started fortifying it. Andrea wished to deal with that fleet or at least to ensure the defence of the Spanish basis in the middle of the Mediterranean. At that time, Spain accepted the request of the Pope and the Venetians to participate in an operation to try to rescue Cyprus.*

The Ottoman forces landed on the Island of Cyprus in July, and on the 9th of September its Capital Nicosia fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Famagusta remained apart in the hands of the Venetians for it was more fortified and had more forces, so it could resist for a while.

Venice felt it was threatened with the loss of Cyprus and the loss of the products of the Island of cotton and sugar as well. So, it suggested the idea of the necessity to rescue the Island. Philip II rejected at first the possibility of Spain to take part in this operation. There were some operations against the revolt of the Moriscos and this prevented Spain from contemplating working in the east of the Mediterranean. But Pope Pius V took this opportunity to promote the Christian world against the Islamic menace spread everywhere. Thereupon, Philip II agreed to participate in the process of attempting to rescue Cyprus.

Andrea Dorea reached the northern coast of the Island of Crete in the middle of September with 51 ships and some of the Papel ships. Suda harbour then was not fit as a basis for military operations, but the Venetian fleet was waiting there. The joint fleet advanced towards the east, but was afraid of a confrontation with the Ottoman fleet, so it turned towards Rhodes to drive away the Ottoman fleet from Cyprus. The joint fleet was an enormous power, as it comprised 190 warships, in addition to the transporting ships. It carried 10200 cannons and 160.000 soldiers. It could easily participate in a battle, but it seems there were differences between the commanders. Anyhow, the news about the capture of Nicosia and the Ottomans' domination of the Island–except the city of Famagusta–reached them. The Armada commanders decided to return to their homeland. Autumn had just started and the sea was not safe. So, the Ottoman State was able to accomplish its occupation of Cyprus[1].

The Ottoman-Turkish interference in the rebellion of Diassorinos–mentioned above–refreshed the old ambitions in the Island. The Ottomans found a considerable number of people among the Greek Cypriots who were ready to hold an alliance with them against the unjust Latin occupation under whose tyranny the Cypriots lived. That appeared on many occasions; in 1468/1469, 1488, 1566,

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(1) [Arabic] Galal Yehia, *The Modern and Contemporary Islamic World*, Alexandria: Al.Maktab Al-Gamee Al-Hadith, 1982, pp. 429-430.

See also:

Paul Coles, *Ottomans In Europe*, translated by Abd Al-Rahman Abdalla Al Sheikh, Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organisation, pp. 89 ff. The author says about the contention between the Ottomans and Europeans concerning the domination of the Mediterranean and the role of Cyprus in that: "War broke out by the Ottomans' capture of Cyprus from the Venetians in 1570. As the following year Don Juan of Austria led a unified Christian fleet that defeated an Ottoman force larger than the one defeated in Lipantu. This Ottoman defeat was near the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. However, the Ottomans kept Cyprus and quickly reconstructed their fleet. They forced Venice to withdraw from the Sacred League in 1573 and conquered Tunisia in 1574." Then he adds: "Anyhow, after 1570 (the capture of Cyprus), the Mediterranean stage started to be hidden in the history's background, as happened in the stage of the Balkans" (p. 95).

1569. Then the Ottoman military pressure came in 1488 and the following years with expectations in the offing for the Greek Cypriots who were living on the margin of life (*paroikoi*) to be liberated. The Venetians were obliged then to reduce the period of forced labour into two days a week. In 1561-1566 and 1569, some Greek Cypriot delegates went to Constantinople to discuss with the Turks the possibility of sending a Turkish expedition to Cyprus. The Greek-Cypriots were looking forward to a ruling system that was more tolerant and with less burden on the inhabitants to rid them of the state of slavery forced on them by the Latin occupation.

The Greek Cypriot people were so frustrated and depressed by the Latin occupation that they reached the end of their patience because of exploitation and corruption. Among them there were about fifty thousand slaves ready to help the expected Turkish force. Thus the land was paved for the Turkish invasion as far as the Cypriot interior front was concerned. As to the exterior front or the Christian forces interested in Cyprus like Savoy, Spain, Venice ... etc., Turkey worked to divide between them. It even became worse when the ruling authorities in Cyprus fell into various contradictions and differences. The ruling power gave a command to local directors to free slaves, but the command was not carried out. If the Greek Cypriots had helped the Venetians to defend Nicosia and Famagusta, that was accomplished without enthusiasm, consequently, it did not achieve tangible results except in certain individual and heroic cases. Therefore, the Greek Cypriots had no alternative except to welcome the new Turkish invaders. They offered them provisions and rich information about the conditions of the Island. Nicosia was conquered on 9 September 1570 at the hands of Lala Mustafa Pasha. The mountain forces, numbered twenty five thousand, surrendered and were allowed to keep their European properties and even to serve in the Turkish cavalry (*Sipahis*). The higher class of Europeans and Venetians lured the inhabitants to surrender peacefully. A good number of noblemen[2].

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(2) Jacque Charles-Gaffiot, La France aux pottes de l'Orient, Chypre XIIème – XV ème. siècle. Ouvrages collectives sous la direction de Jacque Charle-Gaffiot: =

embraced Islam. Then Famagusta surrendered on the first of August 1571.

As soon as Nicosia fell, the Turks adopted an immediate measure that aimed at appeasing the "subjects". It was represented in exempting the Island of paying the tribute for the year 1570. The high class of Latins and Greek Latins intervened at the expense of the low classes, and the high class in Cyprus were able to penetrate into the circle of the new ruling system to reap the fruit of any renovation by turning it to their own interests and not the interests of the common people. Those who co-operated with the Turks were the people who embraced Islam or remained Christian. They were given the highest administrative positions and attempted to dominate the Orthodox Greek Church.

The Ottoman tax system was considered an advanced one according to the age. Land was considered public property and Cypriot peasants could possess it and pass it over to their children after their death provided they pay a sum of money (an excise duty), in addition to an annual rent. Thus, Cypriots turned to be land-tenants since they did not possess land in the true sense of the word. In spite of that inequity, the Ottoman system was much better than the Latin's at first, for the Latins had turned peasants into "slaves" or "slave workers. They were liberated by the Ottoman system and were free to move from one place to another and from the countryside to the city. However, the new Ottoman regime imposed upon Cypriots "obligatory service" or forced labour for one day per week to work in governmental sugar-refinery factories. The obligatory service was cancelled at the end of the sixteenth century with the decline of the sugar industry. Cotton replaced sugarcane, as it was a staple crop exported to Europe. Moreover, usury prevailed in Cyprus since peasants who had to pay "tribute" or land tax or other excise duties or taxes, turned to usurers to take loans at high interests. The Ottomans, however, exempted the old, the handicapped, women and children

= Centre Culturel du Pantheon, Paris, 1991. Beraud, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-128.

from paying the tribute, which was between a hundred Turkish monetary unit for the wealthy, eighty for the middle class, and sixty for the lower classes.

In brief, the conditions of the common people in Cyprus did not much improve under the Ottoman rule as the inhabitants expected and as it appeared at first. The knights and others who occupied military positions worked in collecting taxes and in other administrative affairs for the interest of the lord of the whole land, who was the Ottoman Suttan. It was those people who co-operated with the Ottoman occupier, whether they were from the Greek-Cypriots or from the Latins, and whether they embraced Islam or kept their old religion, i.e. Christianity. The important thing is that they did not abandon their inherited greediness or their ravenous ambitions at the expense of the general interest of the homeland. It was the same case in countries subjected to foreign occupation, like Egypt and other Arab countries as well as all of the third world countries.

"Osman's firman", issued in October 1571, decided the position of the Latin noblemen class. The decree was issued after the visit of a delegation from Famagusta to Constantinople. According to the decree, any Latin Christian was not allowed to settle in Cyprus. They were also deprived of owning a church, a house, or a farm. The Latins had to select between Orthodoxy and Islam, the two allowed religions in Cyprus. After signing a peace treaty with the Venetians, the Ottomans granted the Latin Christians some presence on the Island, particularly those of Venetian origin. Those who settled in Cyprus had close ties with Orthodoxy. Consequently, they participated in some revolt movements. However, their participation was futile, and so the hope of gaining the Western European support for the interest of Cyprus was merely a mirage. In that, Savoy, Venice, France and Spain were equal. This was the condition from 1572 – 1668.

Successive revolt movements of Greek-Cypriots against Turkish occupation went on. History records the following dates in which violent clashes with the Turks occurred: AD 1572, 1573, 1575, 1578,

1580, 1581, 1590, 1600, 1606, 1609, 1613, 1632, 1668-1669. We shall briefly deal with a few of these revolts. In 1606, for instance, Pedros Aventanius led a revolt movement, and between 1609-1626, Vittorios Zebetos led another movement. These revolting movements were started with the belief that the European West would support them, but their hope was a mirage, or as Aventanius said: "the Turks who lived in this region (Cyprus) were renegades and traitors of this same homeland. They do not willingly permit others (Muslims) coming from outside to join them".

The same meaning is reiterated by Dandini (AD 1596-1597).

There are twelve or thirteen thousand of those Turks all over the Island, mostly from the renegades who turned to Islam seeking tranquillity or appeasement. Therefore, it is not difficult to protect the Island from the tyranny of the Turks and to re-establish Christianity. Those renegades, as soon as they see a Christian army, they will hasten to take off their headdress (of the Muslims) and put on a hat. They will immediately direct their weapons against the Turks.

We can mention two famous names of such type of people: Memi and Mustafa. However, there was another type of people and it was the Latins who stayed on the Island and held the highest positions in the Turkish dominion because they were their agents. Of these we mention Claudio Cecchini who joined the occupation authority along with Memi, Mustafa and other noblemen in order to ensure the continuation of enjoying their old privileges, or gain new ones, or have the two together. Some of them embraced Islam while others remained Christian. The important thing is that many of them secretly contacted the heads of the Cypriot Greek Church and the Duke of Savoy, in an attempt to remove the Turkish occupation in 1600. Another aspect of Cypriot resistance is that Greek citizens used to hide the mines and the entire natural resources to save them for the time after liberation.

In September 1571, the garrisson commanded to defend Cyprus was no more than 1500-2000 knights. and the same number of the

infantry. In other words, the number of the garrisson ranged between 3000 or 4000 men. Most of them stayed in big cities as Nicosia, Famagusta, Paphos, Limassol and Kyrenia. Few of them lived in villages. Their wages were paid from the Island's resources. In Stephano Lusignano's book, it is mentioned that the invading Turks left two thousand knights with their horses, and the same number of the infantry soldiers to populate the deserted Island (The French Edition, 1580, p. 262).

As mentioned above, the Greek Cypriots received the soldiers of the Turkish force as the Island liberators from the despotic occupiers and from the unjust rule of the Venetians. Indeed, the Turks liberated the inhabitants from the rotten Latin feudalism, but they established a new rule of exploitation and tyranny. The Cypriots seemed as if they were asking to be delivered from fire to be cast in the scorching heat. The Turkish occupation contained the ruling class in the Latin period and left them to enjoy their old privileges. The number of population on the eve of Turkish invasion in 1570 was about 179 thousand, but they were steadily subjected to depletion and dwindling. To remedy the scarcity of population, six decrees were issued in the period between 9/4/1577-22/8/1577. They all aimed at deporting Turks, specially from Anatolia, to Cyprus. In some cases the deportation was like an exile for *personae no grata,* as they did not wish to emigrate and did not voluntarily proceed towards it. Until 1581, the number of those deported did not exceed a few thousand of Turkish Muslims and Christians together. Most of them were peasants and craftsmen, and the Christians among them adapted themselves into the Greek-Cypriot community. As to Muslims coming from Asia Minor, their number ranged between eight and twelve thousand. Although they enjoyed more and better privileges than Christians coming from the same place, they joined the rest of the subjects or the working, productive class who were paying the taxes. In 1573/1574, a decree was issued that allowed Cypriot peasants to buy what they had lost of agricultural properties during the Turkish invasion (June 1570 – August 1571). Another decree was issued in October 1571 to restore to the Greek Cypriots their Churches and monasteries, a matter that has stimulated

the ecclesiastical Orthodox life since 1585.

Immediately after the invasion, many of Cypriot's Christians announced their conversion to Islam, as an escape perhaps from paying taxes and a desire to obtain privileges. The same thing had taken place in Asia Minor before. However, many of them used to secretly contact the church in Constantinople and secretly perform the Christian rites. It reminds us of what happened in Andalusia and Sicily after they had unjustly and by means of force dismissed the Muslims. At that time, many Muslims announced their conversion to Christianity and lived in Royal courts, but they secretly practised Islam. As for Cyprus, we give the example of the Sultan's illustrious architect, Minar Sinan Pasha, who came from a Christian Greek origin and asked the Sultan to exclude his relatives from deportation from Cyprus. They were living in the villages of Cappadocia. The Sultan granted this privilege to Sinan Pasha's relatives, which was not given to many of the inhabitants of Asia Minor who migrated to Cyprus.

The re-establishing of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus in 1571 according to the Turkish decree was an important event in the history of Cypriot Hellenism. The first Cypriot archbishop (Sept-Oct. 1571) was most probably a relative of the great minister, Mehmed Sokolli Pasha, who came from a Serbian-Bosnian origin. However, because he did not know Greek, neither reading nor writing or talking, he was rejected by the Cypriots. The position was taken by Timotheos of Acre who was a former monk from the monastery of Kykkos, and lived in Constantinople in the service of ecumenical Patriarchy, that supported him to reach this position. The Patriarchan Council in Constantinople was the place that chose Timotheos as the archbishop of Cyprus and the council that accepted the union of the Cypriot church with the ecumenical Patriarchy. Thus, it put an end to the partition established and rooted by the Latin period in the history of Cyprus. The Cypriot church under the direction of Timotheos succeeded in restoring all its monasteries and properties from the Turks who had captured them during the period of invasion. That was accomplished in 1585, and the

church began to play its role in life, even in the system of taxation, as the priest was the representative of Christians to the authorities, collecting taxes and then repaying them.

Dragomen? played a prominent and a dangerous role in the system of the Ottoman rule in Cyprus. They were the Greek and Latin Cypriots of the upper class. They co-operated with the ruling authorities and worked as translators, secretaries, tax collectors, managers ... etc, the centre of Turkish rulers as they were the means of contact between the rulers and the ecclesiastic leaders. They practised a total control on taxing system and financial administration, specially computation and budget revision. Though it was the power of the wealthy people of Cyprus that played the major role at the Sublime Porte in appointing dragomen ?, they were directly responsible in their duties and their conduct towards the Ottoman Sultan himself. The taxes of Muslims were collected by tax collectors, but the taxes of Christians were collected by dragomen ?. The loyalty of the dragoman was directed according to his ethnic origin, which made his life very risky as the upper and the ruling classes. One of the most famous Cypriot dragomen was Pietro Guneme who dared to establish secret relations with Savoy for the liberation of Cyprus from the detestable Turkish occupation. He was actually attempting to be pleasant to Archbishop Christodolos (1609). Another reputed dragoman was Federigo Vallarci (1628-1648) whose fate was death by the rebelling Janissaries.

The Ottoman administrative system in Cyprus was the responsibility of the aristocratic soldiers supporting the Sultan, headed by the top Prince (*Beglerbeg*) whose principal task was to administer the Island and defend it, helped by the head of the treasury registry (*Hazne Jefterdari* or *Defter Kehayasi*) and the superintendent of the feudal land (*Timar Defterdari*). They were all taken from the lords and the Janissaries and their supreme commander was the high Prince in the case of the absence of the superintendent. There was also the registry's superintendent, the head of the diwan or office (*Divovan Afendici*), the first secretary, the treasurer (*Emini Defter*) ... etc.

Altogether they formed the skeleton of the governmental administrative system.

For Cyprus, the seventeenth century was the century of calamities. In addition to the evils of the occupation, there were the lean years because of the drought and the invasions of swarms of locusts (1610-1633). There were also the piracy processes undertaken by sea pirates, and the plague contagion of 1641. Famines took place in 1640, which led to the decrease of the inhabitants (about twenty five thousand). In addition, the church suffered from personal contentions and differences of creeds among its own men, added to the traditional difference between the Latin Church and the Greek Orthodox. In many cases, they resorted to the Patriarchy of Alexandria and Constantinople to resolve their differences.

In June 1600, the Constantinople Council condemned Archbishop Athanasios and decided to remove him, but he remained active and co-operative with the Turks against his successor Benjamin. In his turn, Benjamin secretly contacted Savoy to co-operate together for the liberation of Cyprus from the Turkish occupation. For this reason, he was supported by the Cypriot ruling class, whether the Latin or the Greek, like Memi, Mustafa and Claudio Cicchini. It happened before and after 1570, so when archbishop Christodolos (1606-1643)- who came from the same high ruling class-succeeded, he became the secret medium of contact between the secret national movements on the one hand and the external European forces on the other. In 1668, the Cypriot archbishop, Nicephorus, gathered the clergymen in Nicosia and took a resolution of condemning Calvinism[3]. The aim of this resolution was to win Europe for the liberation of Cyprus from the Turkish occupation. It was Hilarion Cigala, a Cypriot theological intellectual with wide knowledge that put the resolution in words. He studied in Italy and worked in the north of Greek

(3) Calvinism was established by John Calvin (1509-1564). He was a Protestant and called for reform in France and Switzerland. He aimed at the establishing of a Protestant Republic dominated by ecclesiastical democratic system and getting rid of obsolete rites and traditions and the belief in predestination.

territories. He recorded for himself an honourable, practical biography until he became an archbishop (1674-1678), and he died in 1682. He had Roman Latin inclinations, like Kosmas Mavroudes of Citium-Limassol and the archbishop from 1675-1679. However, after 1670 the Cypriots generally began to adapt themselves to the Ottoman occupation out of the necessity to resume life and follow the realistic pragmatic tendency.

In fact, since the middle of the seventeenth century, the Turks attempted to introduce some reforms on the administrative system in Cyprus. After urgings from the archbishop, bishops and dragomen, the Sublime Porte decided in 1641 to dismiss the Lords (*Pashas*) of Famagusta and Paphos and to reduce the financial allowances of the Pasha of Nicosia. It seems the Sultan desired to introduce a calculated balance between the authorities of the Pasha and dragomen on the one hand, and the church on the other. Therefore, he gave a command to consider the bishop an official guard and a representative of the people. He thus returned to the church some of its old tasks. Cyprus became under the joint responsibility of the Sultan and the first secretary instead of being ruled by one of them alone. Since 1675, the Island followed the commander of the fleet, i.e. the Kapudan Pasha, who ruled it through his deputy. Conditions became worse, people were more burdened with heavy taxes that many of them were converted to Islam. Wavering between the two religions was an illustration of exhaustion and instability. In 1680, the authorities failed to find a tax collector, though it was a profitable profession, and a competitive bargain among investors. Louis de Barrie, a Cypriot chosen by Savoy to undertake secret contacts with the archbishop, says as a testimony of a contemporary of the events:

> *The Turks used to guard the forts, and the Christians were forced to guard hills and coasts without being permitted to carry weapons. They were punished by death if found armed. Most of the Turks did not have sufficient military exercises as they were taken from the farmers who worked in cultivating the land. The Christians exceeded the Turks with the rate of 3: 1. If they had*

weapons they would have been able to get rid of Turkish occupation[4].

In 1730, a delegation headed by Archbishop Silvestors went to pray for the alleviation of taxes. The Archbishop was arrested with some of his men and they were taken back to Cyprus as outlaws. Philotheos (1734-1759) had studied in Constantinople and established a school in Nicosia and Larnaca. In a complete document, he presented once more the requests of the Cypriot Church. Nothing spoiled his works and aborted his efforts except the plots of the monk Makarios (1744), while Neophytos occupied his position for awhile. The reign of Abu Bakir Pasha (1746-1748) was a flourishing and exceptional one among the epochs of Ottoman occupation. He constructed the aqueducts of Arpira-Larnaca that were completed in 1750 in the reign of his successor. In the Easter of 1750 the palace dragoman, Christophakis, was murdered by Hazibaki, Larnaca's sentinel.

After the agitation that happened in 1752, a tripartite ecclesiastical delegation went to Constantinople and persuaded the high minister, Bahir Kose Mustafa, to issue a declaration to fix the total amount of tributes and pensions, and to reduce twenty one and a half piastres for each head (individual). More important, the delegation requested that bishops should be considered guards and representatives of the people, provided they have direct contact with the Sublime Porte. There were old privileges that the delegation actually requested to renew and assert. In 1755, the high Minister fixed the annual tribute for monasteries to be four thousand piastres. Between 1760 and 1767, the total taxes of Cyprus represented the highest sum of money obtained from any other Ottoman province. Its rate reached two hundred piastres for each individual annually. In 1764, the tax collector Chil Osman collected 350 thousand piastres more than was required. The rate was 4405 piastres for every Christian, and 2205 for every Muslim Turk. After the intrusion of bishops and the Turkish nobility with the high minister, the rate was

(4) Ap. Hill, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 59.

reduced to 2205 piastres for every Christian and half the amount for every Muslim Turk. A command was issued to Chil Osman to return the extra money to the people. However, the matter developed into a violent clash in which Chil Osman was killed as well as nine of his followers on 25/10/1764. Compensations were imposed on those responsible for violent actions who were Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Khalil Agha had led the revolt, so he was arrested and put to death on 8/8/1766.

In 1785, Cyprus followed the commander of the fleet, or Kapudan Pasha, who appointed the governor himself and that was instead of following the high minister. In 1792, the total amount of taxes collected was 400 thousand piastres, and in 1806, it reached a million. Many riots started, for the Janissaries revolted in 1799 and 1804. Constantinople had to send new military supplies to put down the rebellion. A new governor was appointed, Hag Hussein. Debts were accumulated for Cyprus and reached about a million and half or two million piastres. The situation remained like that till the middle of the nineteenth century[5].

2- Cyprus and the Greek Revolution of 1821

Monk Kyprianou (1810-1821) of Machairas lived in Walla Chia (1783-1802) and his relationship with dragoman Lambros became disagreeable. He gathered around him a circle of noblemen including his own cousins Nicholas, Kyprianou, Theophilactos, Theseus and others. In 1812, Kyprianou established a Greek school in Nicosia and collected 20 piastres more from each tax-payer to repay the debts of Cyprus which were thirty years late. Taxpayers were fifteen thousand, nevertheless, he could not repay all the delayed debts. Kyprianou himself was called for investigation in 1815 about his own money and though he was acquitted then, eventually he was put to death on 9/7/1821 along with other Greek Cypriot clergymen and society leaders for their involvement in the activities of the national Greek revolution

(5) Kyrris, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-300.

in 1821, which was the beginning and the way to the long war of independence. Though the role of Cyprus in this national war did not exceed sending food and financial supplies, due to the long distance between the Island and Greece, the Turks did not forgive that involvement. The above mentioned Theophylos, Theseus, and Theophilactos, attempted to make a move to militarily help Greece, but the Turkish forces foiled their attempt.

In the meantime, the Cypriots settling in the Greek territories and in west Europe attempted to collect money to liberate Cyprus and to start a campaign on occupied Cyprus (and Lebanon). However, their attempts were futile. Both Kyprianou and Theseus went to Hydra on 5/4/1821 to share in the war of independence. Nicholas and others went to Rome and Paris. Theophilactos headed a Cypriot committee on a trip to London, and cooperated with a former commander in the army of Napoleon Bonaparte called De Wutz, and two philhellenes British. These efforts continued until 1824/1824. In 1828, there was a Cypriot delegation of the people settling in Greece. They delivered a request to the commander of the revolution, Capodistrias, a request from the leaders of the Cypriot national movement, asking him to extend the border lines of the Greek state under discussion to Cyprus. It was a request that preceded the continuous current of *Enosis* by nearly a hundred years until the twentieth century. Though Capodistrias had included this Cypriot request in one of the documents, the dream of *Enosis* at that time was a kind of fantasy that did not relate to tangible facts. We are extremely sorry to say that at the end of the twentieth century we see that dream a more likely example than before. However, that does not diminish the national Cypriot struggle that aimed at union (*Enosis*) since the first kindling of the national Greek war of independence in 1821.

The scholar Protopsaltis presented many details about the role of Cyprus in the national revolution of liberation in 1821, particularly in what is connected with the role of Kharakmbose Malis and the

brothers Nicholaus, Theophilus Theseus, and Ekonomedes[(6)]. family.

Kucuk resumed the terrorist system of his reign by imposing very high taxes on the Cypriots in spite of the European mediations to reduce the burden, particularly through the intrusion of France. Kucuk started a contention with the governor or the Pasha of Acre, which urged the Sultan to assign the task of defending Cyprus to Muhammad Ali, the governor of Egypt. His forces, mostly Albanians, arrived in Cyprus and settled there. They committed many offences and silly actions; plundered equally Greek and Turkish villages. Their crimes extended to comprise the Europeans who were settling in Cyprus (April 1822), which required the Sultan's command to remove Kucuk and appoint Saeed Muhammad in his place (end of 1822). The Egyptian forces did not retreat before the end of 1829, after the battle of Navarino on 20/10/1827. Muhammad Ali did not entirely abandon Cyprus except on 5/5/1833 when Cyprus and Crete were offered as a mortgage to Britain in 1831-1832, but the offer was declined.

Dr. Zeinab Esmat Rashid included many details in her book, *Crete. Under the Egyptian Rule (1830-1840)*, about Muhammad Ali's reign in Crete; the economic and administrative organisations; caring about the affairs of construction, security, prevalence of justice and caring for the inhabitants' health and culture. Cyprus was frequently mentioned for its relation with these events at that time. The most important of these allusions is the following statement by the author: "From the above it is obvious that Muhammad Ali's contact and awareness of the affairs of the Island (Crete) did not start with the Sultan's decree alluded to, but it goes back to the year 1821 when the Sultan was worried about the fate of the Island, so he resorted to Muhammad Ali asking his assistance and assigned to him to look after

(6) [Greek] *Protopsaltis* (Athens 1971) pp. 36-78 et *passim*. It is the book that starts with the following sentence: (Greek) It reads: "As to our other Greek brothers, we need help to liberate our peaceful Island Cyprus, the blessed and the miserable as well". (Declaration of 6 December 1821, signed by Spyridon of Trimythos and Ioanikios Kyrianos the head singer in the Cypriot bishopric.

the affairs of Crete and Cyprus"[7]. (p. 85).

Many Cypriots who participated in the national Greek war of independence started to return to their homeland Cyprus, as Greek citizens protected by Russia. England and France set about intruding to encourage the national elements in Cyprus- whether from the Greek or the Turks- to revolt. Thus, Alipotas movement started in 1830 and the ruler Khalil Saeed was killed in December 1831. Sultan Mahmoud II (1808-1839), who had tendencies towards reforms, responded by granting Cyprus economic independence, and establishing a parliamentary system represented in the selection of four Cypriot noblemen annually to join the palace, in addition to forming a committee comprising twenty members to be called "the Commons". It was headed by the bishop, and the membership of the people of the above positions, in addition to three metropolitan clergymen and some of the nobility. It was this was empowered to appoint the four people to join the palace and to select a Cypriot agent in Constantinople. It was also decided to construct a hospital for skin diseases and a school in each of Larnaca and Limassol in the same style of Nicosia.

There were excellent Turkish reforms, but they were sooner delayed while still in their cradle due to administrative complications and intrigues among people in charge. When the ruler Saeed Muhammad Agha set about collecting the delayed taxes, he confronted a Greek and Turkish revolt that started between peasants in villages and lower classes in cities in July 1833. The main centres of revolt were in Larnaca-Scala, Karpass and Paphos. Among the leaders of the revolt in Scala were Nicuos and Theophilus Theseus. In Carbas, the revolt was led by monk Ioannikios Lazimanos, and in Paphos it was Giaour Imam. Some Albanians in Carbas and Scala[8]. took part in the

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(7) [Arabic] Zeinab Esmat Rashid, *Crete Under the Egyptian Rule (1830-1840)*, Cairo: Egyptian Soc. for Historical Studies, 1964,pp. 1, 17, 18, 28, 33, 35, 53, 85.
Eadem: *From the Egyptian Reign in Crete: Mournies Sedition 1833*, Periodical of Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams Univ., Vol., III, January 1955, pp. 181-200.

(8) Concerning this revolt and the nationalist Cypriot personalities, see:
[Greek] Piggouras, *passim* =

revolt. In Scala it was supported by the French consul and his translator G. Lapierre[9].

It cost a million piastres to put down that revolt. Both Lazimanos and Giaour Imam met the worst destiny. However, the Sultan in Constantinople was a reformer in his reaction, so he issued two decrees. The first was on 26/4/1834 and the second on 22/4/1834 in order to correct the situation. In 1835, a third decree was issued to establish a stabilized defensive system for the Island and to appoint a sufficient military power to remain in the Island instead of resorting to the fast intruding forces from outside Cyprus. In order to face the epidemic of 1835 and the famine that ensued for two years, a hospital was constructed in Larnaca. A Cypriot delegation went to the Sublime Porte in 1837 and asked that Osman would replace the ruler Muhammad. Osman was a mild Cypriot who had good relations with Greek Cypriots. During his reign, Cyprus enjoyed some peace and tranquillity.

On 3/11/1839, Sultan Abd Al.-Majeed declared "Sharif's Plan". It was a plan that aimed at treating the side effects of the previous reforms. It laid a new system to collect taxes, confirmed the European method of drafting, it allowed freedom of the disposal of properties, and gave the criminals' children the right to possess the properties of parents, as long as they were innocent. However, this plan of reform failed because it avoided touching the interests of the nobility and high property owners, and it did not impose the secularism of the Cypriot state.

Consequently, matters came back to normal as before, that taxes imposed on Cyprus reached 6, 815, 000 piastres. People started to flee in an attempt to escape from the nightmare of taxes. Some inhabitants fled from one village to another or from the coast to the mountains. But many people fled abroad. According to "Sharif's Plan", the

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= [Greek] Hatzedemetriou, pp. 254 ff.

(9) Concerning the French Culture in Cyprus since the reign of the Lusignan dynasty, see: Beraud, *op. cit., passim*.

annexation of Cyprus was transferred from the commander of the fleet or Kapudan Pasha to the archipelago's Sanjak and was annexed to Rhodes' Pashalik in 1849. However, these reforms were also aborted when a new governor, Tal 'at, took over[10].

3- The Rise of British Power

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the foreign powers started to show a greater interest in Cyprus. Britain the first start of these powers that put Cyprus on the map of its interests and plans in the Middle East, the Arab Gulf, and India. Cyprus in particular had a great importance for the British interests in Palestine and Syria. Moreover, Germany and France did not delay in revealing their interest in Cyprus as well. With the outbreak of the Crimean War on 23/10/1853, the Greek Cypriot feelings turned to Russia and supported it, whereas the feelings of Muslim Cypriots supported the British and the French in general. The Turkish ruler attempted to keep a balance between the two sides, so on 8/5/1854 he commanded all the subjects of the continental Greek lands- and some Greek Cypriots- to leave Cyprus. On 7/5/1855 the Sublime Porte issued a decree in which the tribute is exchanged for a new taxation which was called "the exchange", i.e. "the alternative to the military service", paid by every person who did not wish to undertake the obligatory military service. This system was actually followed in Egypt during the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the decree permitted Greek Cypriots to join the lines of the army until the rank of colonel.

On 18 February 1856, "Chomayon's plan" was issued to support "Sharif's plan", in which the members of the House of Commons were increased from 12 to 13; three Greeks including the archbishop, and the others to be of the Turks. The House should deal with taxes, customs, and civil court cases except inheritance for it was the concern of the judge for Muslims and the church for Christians. Local councils were formed, 16 in number, each of which consisted of the local

(10) Kyrris, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-288.

governor or the director as the Chairman, the judge, three Muslims and three Christians. Churches were allowed to use bells, a matter which had been forbidden before. It was decided not to force people to convert from one religion to another. These reforms solved some problems, but were not completely successful.

The reign of Osman Pasha (1855-1856) was dominated by an atmosphere of resisting the locusts' pestilence, the troubles of corruption and mismanagement, high taxes, and the extreme exploitation at the hand of Kikhia, that is the retinue around him. Kani Pasha (1857-1858) followed Osman and attempted reform, particularly in the field of tariffs and excise taxes. His successor, Ishaq Pasha (1858-1859) reduced a huge amount of delayed debts. Nonetheless, he used to collect one third of the crops in stead of one tenth to repay the debts, which overburdened the peasants who were already suffering from the pestilence of locusts.

In 1859, Britain encouraged the introduction of cotton cultivation into Cyprus and the Middle East countries, which brought many English investors to Cyprus. In the same year and in the reign of Muhammad Khair Allah Pasha (1859-1862), a contention and a riot erupted in Limassol and Larnaca. Greek and Turkish Cypriots objected about mismanagement and the arrival of a great number of Druses, Arabs and others on the Island (1860). In 1860/1861, the deputy of the British Consul asked the permission for a warship to visit Cyprus to protect the inhabitants, and on 15 December 1862, there was an excitement in Larnaca for choosing the British Prince Albert as a King of Greece. Then in 1863-1864, pamphlets coming from Greece calling for rebellion against Turkish occupation were found. In the meantime, services were improved in Cyprus, the roads in particular, and the Cypriot coin regained its former value, after being greatly reduced in value in the previous years. In 1864, the Ottoman Empire Bank established a branch in Cyprus. However, the British power increased in all aspects of life, the economic affairs in particular.

In April 1868, Cyprus was annexed to the province of Dardanelles, and the governor's residence was in Chanak. He was appointed by the Sublime Porte, whereas the governor appointed the lieutenant colonel, who appointed the district director. As to the mayor of the village, he was to be elected. This system remained for two years and four months and ended in centralising all powers in the hands of the governor. The latter paid two visits to Cyprus; the first was on 19/5/1868 and for four weeks; the second in 1870 and for two weeks. However, these two visits did not produce any effect on the affairs of the Island except on the extermination of an attack of locusts, which reached the extent of causing famine and shortage in the foodstuff. It led the government to ration grain gratis, and even to annul the paying of taxes for three years. It was a matter that Cypriots kept remembering with feelings of gratitude and kept repeating its stories during the British occupation for its extreme exploitation and unjust taxes. The governor Muhammad Sayyed Pasha (1868-1871) repaired the water supplies in Nicosia and Larnaca. He restored the barren lands into its former state of fertility and productivity, and repaired the fresh watercourses that irrigated the fields. He also completed paving the unfortunate road between Nicosia and Larnaca in 1871, which had been disrupted several times.

However, the strongest man on the Island was the British Consul Sandwith who was supported by the Ottoman Bank and by the English exporting trade through Syria, the cotton trade in particular. As a result, some people of the French community in Cyprus came with a plea to Napoleon III on 28/5/1869 to occupy the Island.

Sophronios (1866-1900) was the last archbishop of Cyprus in the Ottoman age. Sultan Abd Al-Aziz rewarded him by issuing a patent to restore the emphasis on the old privileges of the church of Cyprus, and to acknowledge the archbishop and his judicial authority above other bishops, priests and monks, even over all Christians as far as ecclesiastical matters and personal affairs were concerned. In the middle of 1870, a joint delegation led by Sophronios, assisted by the high minister Kibrish Mehmed, was able to obtain the right to

reconstruct Cyprus as an independent province as in the middle of 1866-April 1868. They even obtained other privileges. Notwithstanding, in July 1872 and through Medhat Pasha, Cyprus was returned to follow the administration of the governor of Dardanelles and the Islands. This system remained without any remarkable changes until the end of the Ottoman age and the beginning of British occupation.

While the Ottoman epoch was about to come to an end, direct trade between Cyprus and Britain was very slight. The main exports, specially carob beans, were sent to Russia. Larnaca's salt mines produced stable revenue. As to the commercial, marine transportation monopoly, it was exclusive to the Austrian firm, "Austrian Lloyd".

Mehmed Veis (May 1872 – December 1973) was an educated man but he was corrupt, seeking his personal interests. He transferred the office of commerce to Nicosia in March 1873 instead of keeping it in Larnaca in order to reap most of the gains. Crimes of theft, plundering and exploitation at the expense of poor people and simple peasants who suffered from pestilence, drought, inflation and even disappearance of foods prevailed then. The production of carob was even diminished. But it was the time when the Colossus of Amathus was discovered. Veis was succeeded by Khalifa Ibrahim (28 Dec. 1873 – March 1874) whose reign did not last long and was succeeded by Mehmed Nessif (17/3/1874-Dec. 1874), followed by Reda. On 25/8/1876, Britain presented an ultimatum to the judge of Limassol asking for a fair treatment of Christians, as the Russian-Turkish war was in the offing (1877-1878). In fact, since the outbreak of the war, many calamities befell Cyprus. Dreadful incidents happened to the Christians in the island that Britain asked permission to anchor one of its warships near the Island to protect the inhabitants. In February 1878, the governor of the archipelago, Sava Pasha, called upon Cypriots to express their complaints and injustices in the frame of the general Ottoman policy in order to improve the conditions in Cyprus, following the national Greek revolution of 1821, and as a response to European pressure since 1840. Some of the primary steps of the

reforms were the improvement of general health conditions; the disappearance of epidemics; victory over the attacks of locusts, abundance of physicians and the construction of hospitals. There was an increase in the number of inhabitants from 60 or 70 thousand in 1815 to 90 thousand in 1821 and to 100 thousand in 1829, then to more than 185 thousand in 1881. The inhabitants were distributed at that time in the following manner:[11].

Orthodox Greeks	73.9%
Muslim Turks	24.4%
Others	1.7%

The latter group was distributed in the following way:

Roman Catholic (European)	1875
Marionettes	830
Armenians	174
Protestants	173
Copts	5
Jews	68
Other religions	1

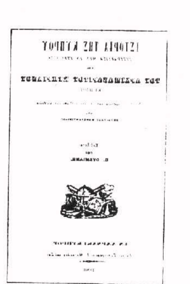
Before we conclude our discourse about the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus, we like to mention that the history of the Ottoman State is a highly controversial issue in the historical and cultural studies in Egypt and the Arab world. Some people believe that the Ottoman State was the cause of the delay of the Arab world to join modern European renaissance for the Turks erected iron bars round the Arab countries and highly exploited them, drained their abilities and inhibited any liberation movements that emerged. When the Ottoman State was weakened, it became as a sick man on his deathbed, which wetted the appetite of imperialist countries that started to occupy and plunder the Arab countries. On the other hand, there are some other Egyptian and Arab scholars who see that the Ottoman State is unjustly treated because it was the state that defended Islam in the face of the ambitious and greedy countries. Moreover, it was the state whose forces reached Vienna in the middle of Europe[12].

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(11) Concerning the role of the Cypriot Church in the tax system, see: [Greek] Dionysiou (Nicosia 1991) *passim*.

(12) Kyrris, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-247.

As to Cyprus (and Greece) under the Ottoman occupation, whatever we can say about the graces of the Ottoman State, we still believe that it has succeeded in tarnishing the image of Islam to the Christian Greek Cypriots (as well as the Greeks in the continental Greek territories) and made them mix up between Islam and the Arabs on one side, and the Turkish oppression on the other. Thus, in the mind of the ordinary citizen, matters were mixed up and he could not understand Islam because of his hatred to the Turks to whom he added the Arabs. Our task is to clarify facts for that citizen.





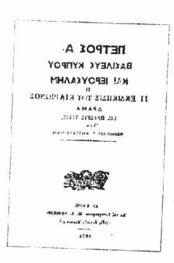


Fig. No. (54)

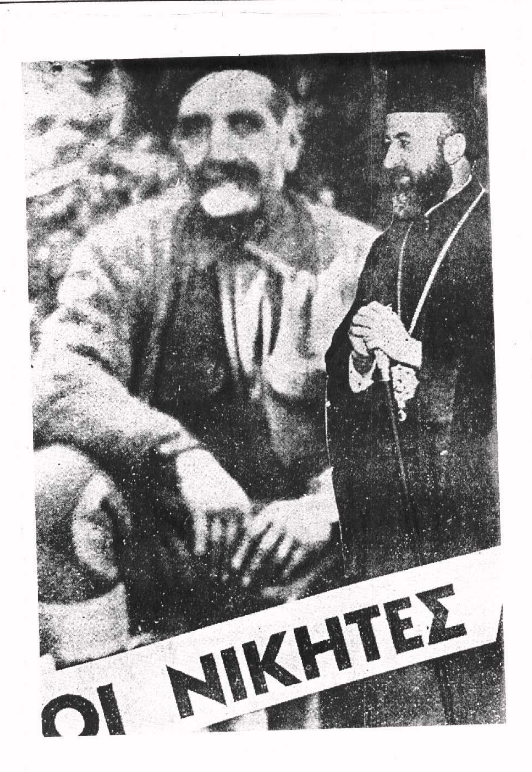


Fig. No. (55)

CHAPTER IV

BRITISH OCCUPATION (1878 – 1909)

Τὸν δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ χειμὼν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὄμβρος ἀπείρων,
Οὐ φλὸξ ἠελίοιο δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνή,
Οὐχ᾽ ὥς τις δήμου ἐναρίθμιος, ἀλλ᾽ ὅγ᾽ ἀτειρὴς
᾽Αμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ τέταται νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ.[2]

Not the bitter cold of winter, nor the ever pouring rain,
Nor the awakening sun, or the epidemic disease;
Nothing can conquer him or diminish his powers.
On the contrary, countless masses, without loss of patience
Crawl towards him night and day.

(Diogenes,Laertius. VII 27)





Fig. No. (56)

1- The Ideological Background

The importance of Cyprus emerged since the nineteenth century after the Ottoman Empire had begun to decline and weaken, which awakened Britain's ambition to dominate the eastern basin of the Mediterranean as a protective measure to predate Russia. The latter was seeking and paving the way to penetrate to the commanding sites of warm water through Turkey or the Balkans. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was a principal factor in asserting the British domination of the Island for being situated on the way to the northern entrance of the canal. That would allow the British navy to have absolute control of navigation between East and West through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, particularly for the presence of Aden's basis near the southern entrance of the Red Sea at Bab el Mandeb. Turkey's surrender of the Island of Cyprus to Britain was a result of signing a defensive treaty between Britain and Turkey at the end of the Turkish-Russian war and the holding of Berlin's conference in 1878. Britain then got the right to occupy the Island, to preside over the Canal and to defend the Dardanelles. The surrender on the part of Turkey was in return for offering the necessary assistance in case Russia would advance across the Turkish boundaries. Britain remained occupying the Island under this pretext that it was waiting until it was officially announced that Cyprus was annexed to the colonies of the crown in 1914(1).

"The Treaty of Cyprus" was secretly signed by Britain and Turkey in the framework of Berlin's conference on the 4th of June 1878. Turkey handed over Cyprus to the British occupation in return for Britain's guarantee to protect the Ottoman Asian territories against any likely Russian attack. As soon as the news of the treaty leaked out, great numbers of greedy profiteers from Greece, Istanbul, Cairo and others pounced upon Cyprus hoping to realise soaring profits by buying cheap lands they expected their rates to rise under

(1) [Arabic] Muhammad Kamal Abd El-Hamid, The Middle East in the Strategic Balance, Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian, 2nd ed. 1972, pp. 452-461.

the new reign. On 12 July 1878, the Turkish governor of the Island handed over the Cypriot affairs to the deputy of the English Admiral, John Hay. Thus, the new long anticipated age began, and the Island came within the circle of European civilization once more, though it could not get rid of the inherited limits and ties of the past. Therefore, there was not a leap in the political or cultural life. Though the British raised on the island the banner of renovation, development, liberalism and progress, in fact, they did not renew much in the administrative and legal Ottoman heritage. In addition, the backwardness from which the Island suffered during the last four centuries had left them with passive attitudes and a spirit that counteracted change.

According to the secret treaty between Turkey and Britain, the second party had to pay the first the sum of £ 91 thousand annually, a sum collected by Britain from the Cypriot people. Thus, the British exploitation came as a natural extension to their Turkish predecessors, which helped the Cypriots to awaken from their first optimistic impression about the British occupation. At first they welcomed the British and considered their reign a beginning of a new era announcing welfare, freedom and democracy ... and other similar European slogans. It is ironic that the Turkish Cypriots were pessimistic in the first years of British occupation, but by the passing of time they discovered they did not lose much, for the new system preserved their old privileges including the "legal courts" and the *Wakf* system. That was according to the Turkish-British secret agreement in 1878 as the Turks put a condition that the English had to "preserve the conditions of Muslims and to protect them".

The administrative British system in Cyprus declared by a resolution from the British government on 14 September 1878 was a pure central type. The British High Commissioner was the source of all powers except very little in which he had to seek the advice of London. The "legislative council" was composed of the Commissioner and from 4-8 members, half of whom had official positions. They were all appointed according to a royal resolution from London or from the Commissioner. As to the "executive council", all its members had to be

appointed according to the wish of the High Commissioner and instructions from London. The two councils only enjoyed a power of advisory and what was issued out of them were merely consultations and not resolutions to be carried out. The principle of appointing people in these councils is a clear-cut illustration that Britain did not follow the democratic principles the British boast of in their rule of Cyprus. The matter remained like this until the end of the British occupation in 1959.

Since the first year of the British occupation, the Cypriots were able to foil a British plot to get emigrants from Malta and some Islamic countries to Cyprus. In 1879-1880, the newly born Greek Cypriot press launched a violent attack on the British deputy for his antagonistic attitude towards the Greek Cypriots. This general national sentiment continued towards the British occupation that foiled the optimistic expectations for the advent of an enlightened "European reign" in Cyprus. The Cypriots found out that it was not much better than the Ottoman occupation, on the contrary, it might have exceeded it in their sense of chauvinism, and its fondness of plots and intrigues.

The bishop of Citium-Larnaca, Kyprianou, welcomed the first English governor, Sir Garnet Walseley, and called for the realisation of an "*Enosis*" with the Greeks on 22 July 1878. But Archbishop Sophronios was inclined towards reconciliation and thought it was just sufficient to allude to the *Enosis* as a national Cypriot hope. That was expressed in his welcome address delivered by Sophronios on 10 August 1878. In this address, he concentrated on the people's welcome to the new administration and their adherence to the hope of achieving equality, justice, and freedom. In each of Famagusta and Limassol, Sir Garet received the same welcome.

During the first years of occupation, many Cypriots who were staying in Constantinople, Asia, Egypt, and other places, came to Cyprus to occupy distinguished positions in the new administration because the local citizens were not fit for these positions.

As to the Cypriot community in Egypt that had many rich citizens among them, they kept their close contact with the motherland. They also contributed in establishing schools in Cypriot villages. Most of them had great expectations in the British reign in Cyprus to the extent that they expected the realisation of the union (*Enosis*) in a short time. Then, the Cypriots inside and outside the country discovered that their Island according to Great Britain was nothing but another pearl to be added to the pearls of the crown of the British Empire.

After the occupation of Egypt in 1882, and the defeat of Orabi revolt, Britain was not ready to include the request of "*Enosis*" in the agenda of negotiation or the dialogue with Greece on the one hand, and with the Cypriots on the other. It was an actual fact that Britain had realised the strategic importance of Cyprus as a gate to Asia and Africa and the way to India. It was not possible for Britain to hand over Cyprus to Greece, out of fear the Island would be lost to a rival European power, larger than the capacity of Greece.

Gradually, however, the British policy towards Turkey changed. At the start, Britain announced it occupied Cyprus to protect the Turkish Asia Minor against the Russian ambitions. Now, through Winston Churchill in a declaration presented to the ministry of colonies, it was announced that Britain could not possibly return Cyprus to Turkey. Certainly, the Greek Cypriots would not have allowed the return of Cyprus to Turkey. Demonstrations started, urged by the leaders of the church at the beginning of the twentieth century, and they rejected any thought of the return of Cyprus to Turkey. When Winston Churchill visited Famagusta in October 1907, he was well received by the people. Demonstrations started then in which people carried banners of "*Enosis*", and he was presented with people's requests to achieve democracy. As to the Turks of Cyprus, they were wavering between the idea of Cyprus's return to Turkey, on the one hand, and supporting the requests of their Greek fellow citizen in asking for union with the Greeks, on the other.

One of the features worthy of recording that happened at the beginning of the British rule and under the freedom of religion was the conversion of many Cypriots who had turned to Islam back to Christianity. They faced several problems from both parties; for they were afraid Cyprus would return to Turkey and they would be severely punished. They were also not welcomed by the Greek clergymen who suspected those that had claimed to be Muslims and secretly believed in Christianity. Due to the Christian severity, some of them remained Muslims. In 1908, the High Commissioner in Limassol, Ronald L.N. Mitchell, wrote about the heresy of "the cotton and linen faith" (*Linobambakoi*), a title which stuck to them. The title described the people who were not known whether they were Muslims or Christians and who adapted themselves to the thriving commodities whether it was cotton or linen. Since the nineties of the 19th century, the Catholic Church had intensified its efforts to lure those hesitants between religions, taking the chance created by the inflexibility of the Cypriot Orthodox church. These hesitants were not reassured and did not finally decide to take Christianity except after annexing Cyprus to the British Crown in 1914 and the official declaration of the Island as a British colony (1925). After the First World War and due to increasing activities towards achieving unity (*Enosis*), a sectarian polarization took place in the Island, encouraged by the English who were planning to keep Cyprus a British colony and to put an end to the movement towards unity. There are still some individual cases of the sectarian polarization going on until today, after being nourished by the Turkish invasion of July 1974.

It might be useful now to have a bird's eye view of the intellectual dimension and the ideological background of these political developments in Cyprus. During the British occupation, some names come out as Hieronymos M. Vaarlam (1849-1915). He came from a Roman Catholic Greek family, from Corfu (Kerkira), one of the seven Islands in the west of Greece that had very close ties with Venice. His grandfather was Girolamo who had come to Cyprus and settled there since 1770. Through the advice of his Greek Cypriot mother and his studies in the university of Athens, Orthodoxy and Hellenism attracted

him that he became a reputed scholar, an alert jurist, and a wise author writing in old and new Greek in translucent and pure style. Between 1909-1911, he issued the literary periodical, *Kosmos*, and participated in editing *Klio*[2] and *Nea Hemera* (New Day), published in Triesti. He also contributed to many other periodicals, and worked as an assistant to Athanasios Sakellarius while the latter was collecting the folkloric and linguistic material for his pioneer book, *Kypriaka*, (Athens 1855-1891). In addition, he published some translations of Italian novels (1892-1893) and his "correspondences" with his teachers in Attican dialect as well as Epigrams[3]. He also translated a Cypriot popular song in verse into Homeric language (1895). One of his lost works is *A Dictionary of Synonyms* in Greek, Latin, English, French, and Italian.

The use of vernacular Greek in literature whether in verse or prose was considered an unforgivable sin in Cyprus (and Greece) until the thirties of the twentieth century. Therefore, the physician, scholar, the creative artist and playwright, Ioannes Karageorgiades, (1842-1928) of Nicosia who settled in Limassol, composed his play *Enslaved Cyprus (Kypros Doule)* in pure classical language. It mainly deals with the occupation of the knights of the Templars to Cyprus, as already dealt with in this book.

As to Menelaos Phrankoudes (1871-1931) of Limassol whose

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(2) Klio (Clio) is the goddess of history, i.e. one of the art goddesses (Mousai) in Greek myths. Concerning Cypriot press (1878-1960), see: [Greek] Lympourides (Nicosia, 1973) passim.

(3) The Attican dialect is the finest stage in the development of the old Greek Language for it flourished in Attica, the region where Athens is situated. Thus, the Attican dialect is connected with the golden fifth century BC in Greek civilization. It is particularly connected with the stage of maturity in Greek literature and its different artistic branches, specially tragedy, comedy, rhetoric, philosophy, historical writings ... and others. As to the epigrams (Epigramma), it is a poetic art that started originally as an inscription on a monument or a tomb. However, it developed into a literary genre that is usually aphoristic. It is distinguished by being concise, precise and witty. See: Ahmed Etman, Ancient Greek Literature, pp. 107 et passim.

pseudonym is Onesillos, he was a journalist, a poet, and a creative writer. He was a friend to Iannis Psychanis who defended the vernacular and to whom he was introduced when he was studying law in Paris.

It was Savas Christes who introduced the vernacular in the language of law and the legal documents. Andreas Rolandis did the same thing in agrarian and local administration documents; while Solon Michaelides encouraged the introduction of the vernacular in primary education. Loizes Philippou of Paphos, Melis Nicolaides of Larnaca, Antonis Indianos, the official translator of the government, Nicolaedes and others followed suit in encouraging the vernacular.

There were two important literary circles, the first turned round the national poet of Cyprus, Vassilis Michaelides[4] (1849-1917) It was inclined towards progressive social criticism and issued the periodical, *Cypriot Literatures* (*Kypriaka Grammata*) 1934-1956. The second circle turned round Demetrius Lebertis (1866-1937). They issued the periodical *Paphos* 1935-1947. It was a more conservative circle. The important thing was that many members of the two circles had lived long in Greece, London, and Egypt, which created diversity in the Cypriot cultural life. Therefore, we are not far from truth if we say that modern and contemporary Cypriot literature owes much to Egypt, Greece, and London. Cypriot citizens also began to join European universities, and the movement of literary, legal, historical and monumental researches flourished.

The impact of the political development appeared on the rising generation of poets, writers, journalists, lawyers, physicians and teachers whose numbers increased after the British occupation. Contacts between Cypriot coastal cities and European cultural centres increased then. The effect of this was noticed in the new type of life in each of Larnaca-Scala and Limassol. The wealthy class was in contact

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(4) He published his first volume of poetry in 1882 entitled The Sick Lyre. Another collection was published in 1911, both in Limassol.

with European culture even before the British occupation and became denser when it started. The chance to get European education increased then as well as intellectual interaction. Before the occupation, there were cultural centres surrounding Cyprus that attracted those who sought learning and culture, we mean Alexandria, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Athens, Paris, Beirut, Bukharest, Venice Istanbul, Marseille and Naples. After occupation, London became the centre, as it was the main station for the Cypriots and their sacred place for creative inspiration. It is observed that Larnaca – Scala and Limassol were superior to the capital Nicosia throughout the Ottoman occupation and at least for fifty years from the beginning of British occupation. Generally speaking, coastal cities were more ready than others to receive the wind of change that blew at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Shortly after the arrival of the British occupation to Larnaca, the first Cypriot newspaper appeared in 1878. It was entitled *Kypros* (Cyprus) and was a weekly paper in Greek and Turkish, issued by the instructor and man of letters Theodoulos Ph. Constantinides after spending several years in Larnaca. He had published a play about love in Smyrna in 1873, another about *Peter I, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem* in 1874 in Cairo, as he had been working as a principal of a school in Alexandria until 1878, before returning with many other cultured Cypriots to Cyprus seeking new opportunities that appeared in the horizon at the beginning of the British occupation. When he came back to Cyprus, Constantinides brought with him from Egypt machines and equipment sufficient to establish a printing house. However, the British Commissioner refused to grant him a license to issue a Greek paper. He resorted then to his British friend, the journalist Palmer as a mediator to get the license he wanted. Palmer was entrusted with editing the English section of *Kypros* newspaper. As to his play *Kuchuk Mehmed or Cyprus in 1821*, it was printed in Alexandria in 1888, then later in Nicosia in 1895. It was published by Pericles Michaelides, a man of letters who owned with his son a printing house in Tuclea in Romania which he called "Apollo". The books of Michaelides Junior were published there before returning to

Cyprus[5].

What is surprising is that Constantinides had established a newspaper entitled "Africa" (*Aphrike*) in Egypt, first issued on 13 May 1876. Though it did not last long, it opened a new stage of Greek journalism in Egypt, and was filled with lively articles and with rich, well-chosen material. However, it could not cover the cost of publishing and distributing[6].

After turning the ownership of *Kypros* newspaper to the English editor Palmer (until 1882), Constantinides issued a Greek weekly newspaper entitled *Citium*, later it became *Neon Citium*. It continued until 9 June 1889 in Larnaca, and then in Nicosia. This newspaper commended the British rule because it opened the way towards rising for Europe. Nonetheless, it did not miss the chance of bitterly criticising the ruling authorities in Cyprus, and compared between the British and Ottoman occupation. It accused the clergymen of backwardness, ignorance, and opportunism. It also attributed the steady administrative decline to the rigidity of colonialist thinking of the British occupation authorities.

In Limassol, the weekly *Aletheia* (the truth) appeared from 10/12/1880 to 1897. It was issued by the lawyer B.K. Palaeologos, then it became in charge of Menelaos Phrankoudes, the above-mentioned progressive intellectual. However, the weekly *Aletheia* was subjected to attacks on the pages of *Neon Citium* because it supported the church's indulgence in politics, which was the same attitude adopted by another weekly entitled *Stasinos* issued from Larnaca from 1/1/1882-29/12/1883, and then from 13/1/1984 its title became, *Stasinos or the Voice of Cyprus*. It is worth noting that "Stasinos" was the author to whom the Cypriot epics were attributed, as referred to in Chapter I. After the death of its chief editor, Themistocles Theocharides in

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(5) [Greek] Loizou, Vol. B., pp. 132-133.

(6) [Greek] Eugene Michaelides, An Illustrated Registry of Greek Journalism in Egyptian Lands (1862-1972), Alexandria, 1972, p. 64.

January 1887, it appeared as *The Voice of Cyprus* edited by G. Nikopoulos in Nicosia from February 1887. Later, it was under the charge of Kyrillos K. Pavlides who changed the name to *The New Voice of Cyprus.*

Themistocles Theocharides, mentioned above, is considered one of the distinguished men of letters of this epoch. He came from a wealthy family in Evrycho and received his education in Larnaca and Athens. He worked in agriculture and commerce in Cyprus and Egypt. When he settled down in Limassol, he worked as a teacher and was later promoted as a headmaster of a school in Larnaca. In 1877, he published in Athens a tragedy of five acts entitled *Peter in the Senate (Petros Synkletikos)* and won a literary prize in Athens in 1895 (the second edition came out in Larnaca in 1907). He also published a collection of lyrics in Nicosia in 1886, but his *magnum opus* is a novel entitled *Two Scenes from the History of Cyprus* (Larnaca, 1881), which had been published by installment in *Stasinos.* He has also written an epic with a Homeric flavour entitled *Limnites.* He died in 1886.

In the same newspaper other important literary works were published as the novel, *The Accuser's Daughters,* by the Cypriot woman-novelist who was living in Marseilles in France, Maria J. Nicolaidou. In the same paper other works were published as poetical works, legal studies and oriental researches by Chresto Papadopoulos, the judge of the court o Famagusta who originally emigrated from Bithynia and Istanbul. He was a prolific writer. Generally speaking, we can safely say that the Cypriot press in the first fifty years of its establishment, and since the British rule, had been very rich in its literary topics and its scholarly researches, which suggests the awakening of the sense of creativity in the Cypriots after 1878. It was not limited to political or daily life. One of the important aspects that draws our attention is that there was freedom of thought and expression in the intellectual life in general for all people, which raised Cypriot cultural awareness then to a fine standard. Literary output reached the stage of maturity, and the national feeling was able to overcome sectarian sensitivities and individualistic inclinations.

It was not strange then to sense the dire need for the specialised periodicals. In 1881, Theocharides issued in Larnaca the weekly circular *Lyra*, specialised in poetry. It came out as a literary supplement to *Stasinos*. From 11 December 1881, Theodoulos Constantinides, the founder of Cypriot press as already mentioned, issued in Larnaca the periodical *Euterpe*(7), a literary journal which came out as a supplement. Then, for the same journal a supplement appeared bearing the title *Keravnos*(8), a satirical paper (*Ephemeris Satirike*) that appeared from 15 January 1882 until 15 April 1882. They were bi-weeklies.

An English-Greek newspaper bearing the title *Hellenic Times (Hellenikos Chronos)*, with a supplement entitled, *Helicon*, which is the mountain of literary inspiration in Greece, the place of the goddesses of art(9), came out. Its chief editor was Onofrios Iasonides, and the newspaper and the supplement were issued in London and mainly distributed in Athens as well as other Greek cultural centres outside Cyprus. In May 1884, Iasonides was accused in a criminal case and fled from Cyprus. Then, this adventurer came back to Cyprus and once more he issued *Helicon* as a monthly periodical in Limassol from 1910-1911.

The number of newspapers and magazines that appeared in Cyprus between 1878-1931 is huge and reflects a cultural offshoot of newspapers in the Island during the beginning of the British occupation. Some families went as far as issuing newspapers and magazines specially for them. A good example of this is the Chourmouzios' family in Limassol who issued *Salpinx*, the people's

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(7) "Euterpe" is the goddess of playing the flute. She is then one of the Muses of the arts. See footnote 2.

(8) "Keravnos" means the "thunderbolt", the weapon of Zeus the god of gods in Greek mythology . Since Zeus used to struck with it everyone who deviated from the laws of divine justice or cosmal systems, the word symbolises law and order in life and the universe.

(9) Helican is a mountain in the region of Boyotia. It is mentioned in legends that the Muses were inhabiting its top. See: A. Etman, Greek Literature, p. 100.

political and satirical weekly newspaper, issued since January 1884. Stylianos Chourmouzios was remarkable in playing Byzantine music, and spent the last years of his life as the first chanter (*Protopsaltes*) in the Cypriot church in Nicosia, where he died on 21 July 1937, aged eighty nine, after a full life. As to his cousin Emelios Chourmouzios, the famous manager of the Athenian *Kathemerini* (daily) newspaper, he had been the chief editor of the Marxist, radical *Avghi* (dawn) issued in Limassol from April 1924- March 1925. Before emigrating to Athens, he had been successful in achieving fame as a Marxist literary critic and a journalist who wrote articles.

Ethnos (the Nation) newspaper was issued on 17 August 1891 and continued until 22 February 1893 in Larnaca. It was edited by Sp. Gryspis, then later between 21 September 1893 to 31 August 1934, it was edited by K. L. Mesolongites under its new name *Neon Ethnos* (the New Nation).

Probably the most long-lived Cypriot newspaper is *Elevtheria* (Liberty), as it continued from 1906 to 1974. It appeared for the first time in Nicosia, edited by the two brothers Kyros and Demosthenes Stavrindes. Demosthenes was a man of letters, so he published a collection of short stories entitled *Cypriot Tales* (1898) at the age of nineteen. He studied law in Athens, and founded *Elevtheria* with his brother Kyros in 1906. In 1912/1913, Demosthenes was the editor of *London Echo*, a periodical in Greek. He then moved to Athens in 1915 and practised journalism and politics. He held some high positions, founded the "Daily Newspaper of Greece", *Ephemeris tes Hellados*, and contributed in editing *Hestia* (the hearth), which was owned by Cypriots settling in Athens. He also participated in editing the "Encyclopedic Dictionary" before going back to Cyprus to become the director of *Elevtheria*. He remained in that position until his death in 1958. In fact, *Elevtheria* was the most widely circulated Cypriot newspaper and the most audacious among Greek newspapers. It was full of the idea of liberty.

In January – April 1888 in Limassol, the above-mentioned

national poet of Cyprus, Vassilis Michaelides, edited a critical and satirical, newspaper entitled *Diavolos* (the devil). It was also in Limassol from 1 September 1901-19 September 1902 that Phrankoudes edited a scientific and political weekly journal entitled *Diaplasis* (the Shaping); while Pericles Michaelides published the weekly *Evagoras*, after the name of the Greek Cypriot hero referred to in Chapter I. This weekly continued from March 1890 till 1905 when the lawyer Theophanes Theodotos took over calling it *Symaia tes Kyprou.* The charming poet George Stavrides followed Theodotos, and then when Nicolaos Katalanos was in charge, he changed the name into *Kypriakos Phylax* (The Cypriot Guard) from 21 August 1906 until 1921. When Katalanos was exiled, Constantinides took over modifying the title into "The New Cypriot Guard" and then his son-in-law, Bias Markides became in charge.

Another satirical newspaper entitled *Ragias* appeared in January 1898 and continued until 1906. It was associated with the name of George Stavrides and was printed in Nicosia. It directed its bitter criticism to the British occupation and social corruption. It was composed in verse. At the same time, there was a bi-weekly philosophical magazine entitled *Zeno*, the name of the founder of Stoicism, discussed in Chapter I. It was issued in Nicosia and gathered between modern science and the economic aspects.

The Greek suburb to the city of Famagusta, Varosha had its own newspapers. During 1907-1911 the weekly *Salamis* came out, edited by Lukas Zaloumides who studied advanced law, and was assisted by K. Nicolanides. Between 1912 and 1921, *Ammockostos* was issued, edited by Zaloumides. In 1913/1914, the first Cypriot newspaper for women came out in the same city. It was entitled *Hestiades: A Bimonthly Magazine for Women (Hestia des philologike dekapenthemeros ephemeris ton Kyrion).* It is worthy to note that "*Hestiades*" in Greek mythology referred to the mythological daughters of Night and Erebus who were the priestesses of the goddess of the hearth, *Hestia*, the symbol of the life of the people, happiness and hospitality as she maintained the hearth fire. However, the woman magazine was

directed by Persephone Papadopoulou (1888-1949), a bluestocking teacher who became a pupil of the reputed philosopher Bergson at the Sorbonne. She was called from Paris to become the head of The Academy of Education in Patra, in Greece, a position she kept until her death. *Hestiades* published many translations of literary texts and specialised articles by the most famous European philosophers, men of letters and scholars, as Schopenhauer, Nietzche, Bergson and others. Persephone Papadopoulou herself wrote a number of books as; *Educational Remarks: Reformation Movement in Greece and the Important Problems of the Cypriot School*, Nicosia (1930), and The Philosophy of Bergson (1939).

2- British Occupation and World War I

After the discovery of oil in Iran and the Gulf States, England started to give an increasing importance for its presence in Cyprus in order to protect its interests in the Middle East and to safeguard the Suez Canal and the way to India. Britain, therefore, exerted its utmost to keep Cyprus for herself away from Greece and its stronger ally, France. However, the latter did not favour the independence of Cyprus or even annexing it to Greece. France, in fact, preferred to annex the Island to Syria, France's strong garrisson at the time. Indeed, in October 1908, and through her Foreign Minister, Pichou, France supported the return of Cyprus to Turkey as a compensation for Crete, which she had lost. Britain objected to the suggestion based on the assumption that the Sublime Porte would not accept breaching the 1878 treaty. In addition, since the majority of the inhabitants of Cyprus were Christians, the return of the Island to Turkey and the advance of the Turkish army towards it were great risks. In 1919, Greece accepted the project of annexing the twelve islands to Italy to keep Rhodes in the hands of Italy as long as Cyprus remained in the hands of Britain. According to Sevres agreement (articles 115-117) held in August 1920, Turkey totally lifted its hands of Cyprus and gave up all her demands in the Island. All parties who signed the treaty, therefore, acknowledged the annexation of Cyprus to Britain.

In 1921 while celebrating the centenary of the Greek Revolution, riots started in Cyprus. As a result, two of the famous politicians in Cyprus, Philios Zannetos and Nicolaos Katalanos were dismissed; while the Greek Cypriots responded by calling for a "national meeting" as a means of passive resistance against British occupation. A number of resolutions were issued after the meeting, the most important of which was to abstain from elections. A political organisation was established to supervise the carrying out of the boycotting, to stop co-operating with the British power of occupation, and to deal with the economic consequences. The Greek Cypriot boycotting of 1921 elections was complete. In 1922, however, elections were repeated and two Maronian priests were elected as they got 1350 Maronian voices. The British insisted on repeating the elections once more and persuaded seven peasants to nominate themselves!

Britain held more to Cyprus and fought against its union (*Enosis*) with Greece. In the treaty signed on 23/12/1920 between England and France, it was agreed that "due to the dangerous strategic situation and the geographic importance of Cyprus outside the Gulf of Iskenderun, the British government promises not to negotiate the matter of Cyprus and surrender of the Island without any prior agreement with the French government."

After the Bolshevist Revolution had broken out in Russia (October 1917), Turkey acquired a special importance in the capitalist policies of the West as a direct line of defence against the comprehensive system of communism, and a protection to the rest of Asia, particularly the Middle East and the oil resources. In these circumstances, it was out of the question for Britain to give up its domination over Cyprus. In Limassol, a revolutionary Marxist movement was formed which had branches in Larnaca and Paphos. The poor and downtrodden classes turned round it, particularly at the worldly economic crisis at the end of the twenties. The British exploitation became more severe.

Since the very beginning, the British in Cyprus followed the

same policy employed in their other colonies as Egypt, the Sudan, India, Pakistan and others. It is the policy of "divide and rule". They planted the seeds of contention in Cyprus since their arrival on the Island. This is remarked in the legislation they introduced on 30 November 1882, for they kept the Cypriot "legislative council" and turned its resolutions as mere recommendations. Six of its eighteen members were to be appointed by a resolution of the high commissioner, twelve were to be annually elected; nine of them elected by the Greeks and three by the Turks. Each party had to undertake separate election. Thus, the English established the principle of division and separation between the two Cypriot communities, which has had a devastating effect since that time. Now, at the end of the twentieth century, the Island is still suffering as a result of this policy.

The participation of the Cypriot people in the authority was only in name and not actual. The British governor held all the threads of authority, administration and control of everything on the Island in his own hands. In the legislative council, for instance the number of English and Turkish members was equal to the Greek's. Thus, the British governor would ensure the control of the resolutions of the council. Therefore, the Greek members did not succeed in passing legislation for national unity, while the English cared for enhancing the privileges of the Turkish community. Even the "*Wakf* system" was under the charge of two commissioners, one appointed by the Turkish ministry of *Wakf* in Istanbul (until 1914), and the other was English appointed by the high commissioner. So, the Greek Cypriots began to express their exasperation and to send their complaints and their delegates to London. Some of the Turks even participated in a number of these missions, as in 1888 when the complaint was written in both Greek and Turkish. It expressed great exasperation at the taxes annually obtained by Turkey. Soon, however, the Turkish Cypriot members withdrew due to a pressure from Istanbul and London. Then the Greek delegation headed by Archbishop Sophronios arrived in London in the middle of 1889, though later on (2 July 1889) the Turks expressed their support to this delegation and to the legal requests, maintaining their reservation for other requests by which they meant

the *Enosis*, or the union of Cyprus with Greece.

One of the means of planting sedition between the two Cypriot communities followed by the English was allowing the Cypriot Greek volunteers to join the Greek army in the Balkan wars, the Greek-Turkish war of 1897 in particular, and the wars of 1919-1922 and 1940-1941. These Cypriot volunteers were considered "traitors" according to Turkey and to Turkish Cypriots. It is noticed that none of the Turks of Cyprus volunteered to fight in the lines of the Turkish army.

In November-December 1912, Britain offered to hand over Cyprus to Greece in return for a naval basis in Argostolion in the island of Cephalonia, the west of Greece. At that time, Britain was in great need to protect its bases in the Mediterranean against the increasing power of Italy and Austria. After the occupation of the twelve Greek islands along the coast of Asia Minor by Italy in April 1912, and after the handing over of Corinth (the beggar) to Italy, and Tripoli to the Libyans in the same year, Italy had more say in the "tripartite league"- with Germany and Austria. Italy had ambitions in the Aegean Sea whose Greek islands, or most of them, had been liberated - along with Macedonia – from Turkish occupation in the war of the Balkans. However, France's reaction made Winston Churchill withdraw the British offer in January 1913, and postpone the matter to post Balkan war in the framework of a general treaty.

By officially annexing Cyprus to Britain on 5/11/1914, Britain totally forgot the whole matter; but with the beginning of the war against Germany and the emergence of a dire need for an enormous military process in the Balkans and the Dardanelles straits, the Greek role was required. Thereupon, the idea of offering Cyprus to Greece came back in order to lure Greece to participate in the war, particularly because of the military hardships that faced the allies at the beginning of 1915. Some British ministers went so far as to give up Cyprus along with some territories in Asia Minor to the Greeks. But the military commanders taking part in the fight led by Kitchener

strongly objected to such ideas. They found that Cyprus was an essential and indispensable strategic military basis to launch their attack on the Ottoman Empire. In addition, Russia objected to the annexation of Cyprus to Greece, as it would turn the latter to a great power in the east of the Mediterranean. In spite of all objections, Britain went on to offer Cyprus to the Royal Greek government headed by Zaimes, who became a Prime Minister after Venizelos. That happened after the penetration of Austrian, German, and Bulgarian forces in Serbia on 17 October 1915.

The British generous offer on 5/10/1915 was in return for the Greek participation in war and helping Serbia to counter attack. After ten days of the official offer, the Greek government and King Constantine rejected it because they were siding with Germany. In addition, they were contemplating the idea of getting their hands on Istanbul, Thrace and Smyrna, not far away from the Island of Cyprus(10).

After the dethroning of King Constantine in December 1917 and the involvement of Greece in World War I with the allies, Venizelos came back to power, and the Greek press revived the 1915 offer of annexing Cyprus to Greece. In this manner, the movement towards union (*Enosis*) was revived once more in Cyprus, and expectations grew that the union would certainly be accomplished at the end of the war. Indeed, the subject was negotiated several times. In the treaty of 11/11/1918, Britain broached the subject, but aborted the attempt as usual. The reason of the failure was the attitude of the imperialist militants in Britain as well as the involvement of new external international parties, which complicated the issue. Italy gave up the twelve islands to Greece on condition that Britain would also give up Cyprus. In return for this Italian offer, Britain gave an equal one, but the matter did not go beyond words and declarations.

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(10) For more details about the British offer, see: M. Woodhouse, "The Offer of Cyprus, October 1915, Greece and Great Britain during World War I", First Symposium Organised in Thessaloniki by the Institute of Balkan Studies and King's College in London 15-17 Dec. 1983. Thessaloniki 1985, pp. 77-97.

In the treaty of Sykes-Picaud held between England and France, the former could not negotiate the matter of Cyprus without the agreement of France. Among the territories that Venizelos demanded in his memorandum presented to the Peace Conference of 30/11/198, were Cyprus, Istanbul, Asia Minor, Thrace and the north of Epirus. However, Cyprus was not mentioned by name in his proposals of 3/11/1919, probably under the pressure of the imperialist British militants who expressed their fears that Cyprus might fall into the hands of a greater power that would rival Britain. The most important issue that preoccupied Venizelos's mind and attention was Smyrna and its surroundings as the Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor were living in serious and apparent danger. As to the Greeks of Cyprus, they were living in safety and could wait.

Balfour, the one who came with the ill-ominous promise for the Jews of a national home in Palestine, favoured giving up Cyprus to the Greeks. Anyhow, in declaring the Greek requests in the community conference in Quai d'Orsay on 3-6/2/1919, Venizelos openly mentioned the name of Cyprus, but the Greek Cypriot delegation to Paris in the Spring of 1919 was struck and depressed when the British rejected the request of the union (*Enosis*). However, on 13/5/1919 and in front of the conference of "the Four", he announced his desire to surrender Cyprus to the Greeks. Venizelos vehemently thanked him and said that Britain could keep any bases on the Island, even on the whole island if circumstances required that is in the case of .renewing the war. The landing of the Greek forces in Smyrna on 15/5/1919 made Cyprus's request entirely out of the question. Even Lloyd George himself gave a negative answer to the Greek Cypriot delegation in November 1919. In the meantime, France was still aspiring to annex Cyprus to Syria to be under the French protection and in the circle of its power.

In the Italian-Greek treaty (Venizelos- Tittoni) signed on 29/7/1919, it was decided to give back Rhodes to Greece after five years, provided that Britain would do the same thing with Cyprus. In August 1919, the Anglo-Israeli Federation rejected the return of Cyprus to Greece; and in Severes on 10/8/1920, Italy promised to give

up the twelve islands to Greece within fifteen years after a public referendum and after Britain's surrender of Cyprus to Greece. Turkey gave up all its former assumption of any right in the Island including taxes. But Curzon assured Venizelos (5/8/1920) and the Greek delegation of Cyprus in Paris (9/8/1920) that Britain did not wish to yield Cyprus to any party. Cyprus had become part of the spoils of war to be distributed among the victorious countries after World War I.

In their rule of Cyprus, the British sought the assistance of Cypriot citizens and until the twenties, the Turks were the majority among the assistants of the occupation forces and in their administration. Law courts remained for a long time maintaining the Ottoman laws, and then they turned to the British system. In 1927, they started to make distinction between what was Cypriot and what was not in law courts. The following year, the Ottoman penal law was annulled, and in 1935 they started supplying the general British law. The English kept reforming and adjusting laws bit by bit, that is in the same way they dealt with the issue of *Enosis*. In 1912, when the idea of giving up Cyprus to Greece was broached, the Turkish members in the Cypriot legislative council demanded that in the case of changing the political situation of Cyprus, it should be annexed to England or to Egypt. In November 1914, when Cyprus was officially annexed to the British crown, the leaders of Turkish Cypriots welcomed the decision and promised allegiance and obedience to the Great British Empire. They also expressed their sorrow because Turkey chose to join Germany in the war against the allies. In 1915, when the idea of the union of Cyprus with Greece was broached, the Greek Cypriots hailed the idea, while their Turkish fellow-citizens were afraid about their interests and privileges. Between 1918-1920, a Greek-Cypriot delegation went to Paris and London to present the request about the union to the victorious allies, after the Cypriots had received an encouragement from the British chairman of the labour Party in the Socialist Conference held in Bern in Switzerland. The Cypriot delegation was not met with any welcome or attention from anyone in Paris or London, nor even from the Greek Prime Minister himself, Venizelos, who was preoccupied at that time with what was more

important and serious for Greece. Thereupon, Dr. Mehmed Assad, the Turkish Cypriot leader, founded a small party to adopt the idea of annexing Cyprus to Turkey, but the members of this party committed some violent actions that they were arrested and jailed.

The Turkish Cypriots attempted to make use of their position as a continuation of the Ottoman occupation under the British rule. The British, in turn, badly exploited them. This British attitude was not expected because the British were supposed to side with the people of the same Western culture, for it was the Greek ancestors who had founded the ancient European civilization. The common Cypriot Turks were wavering between supporting the union with Greece or not heeding the whole matter because it made no difference to them whether Cyprus was united with Greece or remained as it was. As to the Turkish Cypriot hegemony, its members were of the bourgeoisie and it included physicians, journalists, lawyers, teachers and such like, in addition to the wealthy people of the country-side. The attitude of this ideological Turkish hegemony was holding to the Ottoman Empire. This tendency remained active and was gathering momentum until 1955. Some of them reached the extent of being satiated with the biased national thought of their people that could lead to the hatred of Hellenism. These are the seeds of the Cypriot problem tended from the beginning by the British occupation.

The year 1922 is a distinguished date in the Greek and Cypriot history, for then the tragedy of Asia Minor took place and caused a crack in the psychological wall of the Cypriots. As a result a great number of Asian Greek and some Armenian refugees resorted to Cyprus. Furthermore, the demand of *Enosis* received a heavy blow. The British authorities attempted to remedy the situation and alleviate the crisis, so they proposed granting self-rule or enlarging the domain of the legislative and executive council. The number of Greek members in these councils was increased to represent 4:5 of the total number. But in the same year, the Turkish Cypriots repeated their earlier demand of returning Cyprus to Turkey or to its former position before annexing it to the British crown. A Turkish Cypriot delegation reached

Ankara to present these demands. However, the official Turkish response was not encouraging, as the Turkish policy had changed during the age of integrated fundamentalism founded by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.

Britain's response to the Cypriot Greek demand of independence and liberty (6/2/1923) was that Cyprus was not mature enough for constitutional freedom. Soon, Spyros Araouzos prepared a new Cypriot Greek memorandum presented to the British authorities. He severely indicated that the Cypriots were not less than others in deserving freedom. As to the rights of the minorities – according to the memorandum – they could be protected through proportional representation. The memo also demanded to increase the number of representatives of the Greek Cypriots in the council from 9 to 12 as they actually represented 4: 5 of the population. The British government answered by saying that their demand would make the Turks lose their sense of security and reassurance. In spite of the insistence of Greek Cypriots on boycotting the elections, the British authorities were able to nominate seven Greeks for the legislative council. The Cypriot grievances and the English replies – very demanding sometimes – continued for two years 1922-1923. In reaction to the law of 12/4/1922 issued to forbid provocative writings and publications, the Greek Cypriots expressed their rejection and grasped that it was intended to lull the nationalist movement. A strong intellectual wave among European writers started to pay attention to Cyprus and its case and to call for liberating the Island. One of them was Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), one of the celebrated twentieth century historians, who published in 1922, 1926 and 1932 studies to assert that "*Enosis*" was the reasonable and acceptable solution to the Cypriot problem[11].

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(11) Concerning World War I and Asia Minor, and their impact on the Cypriot problem, see:
[Greek] Loizides (Athens 1980), passim.
[Greek] Pikros (Athens 1980), passim. This book also discusses Venizelos's role.
See also:
S.P. Sonyel, Turkish Diplomacy 1918-1923 M. Kemal and the Turkish =

3- Treaty of Lausanne and the Revolution of October 1931

The utmost concession Britain allowed to the Cypriots was the constitutional alterations, issued in the 1925 decree (6/11/1925) two years after Turkey had signed the Treaty of Lausanne[12], that is on 14 July 1923. In this treaty, Turkey gave up all its Claims of rights in Cyprus, (Turkey had officially accepted Britain's annexation to Cyprus in 1914), and advised the Turkish-Cypriots to emigrate to Anatolia. Between 1924 to 1928, only five thousand took this advice, though many of them were disappointed when they reached Turkey and returned to Cyprus where they were welcomed by the islanders. The British were objecting to the emigration of the Turks because they were using this Turkish "card" in their negotiations and deals with the Greek Cypriots who did nothing to encourage their fellow-citizens to leave Cyprus. On the contrary, they greatly welcomed whoever came back, out of the deep, civilised sense. The terms of the Treaty of Lausanne were convenient to Britain who used and modified them to declare on 1/5/1925 Cyprus as a British colony. The ruling authorities set about taking the necessary measures to destroy the national movement and announced repeatedly that the future of Cyprus was decided and its file was closed forever, the thing which reminds us now of Netanyahu's statements about the Palestinian case.

At the same time, Britain set about following the policy of bluffing (the rod and the carrot) by offering new proposals of constitutional life. The fact is that the proposals did not differ from what was already happening in Cyprus. The members of the legislative council had already been increased to 24, nine of which were appointed by the British governor, twelve to be elected by the Greeks, and three by the Turks. That meant there was not a real change and the British governor was still holding the supreme power and the last word in

= National Movement, London: Sage Publications, 1975.

(12) C. Svoloupoulos, "The Lausanne Peace-Treaty and the Cyprus Problem" in "Greece and Great Britain during World War I", first Symposium organised in Thessaloniki by the Institute for Balkan Studies and King's College in London 15-17 Dec. 1983. Thessaloniki, 1985, pp. 233-245.

legislation, administration and rule in his own hands. However, since the two communities, the Greek and Turkish, realised that the international political situation after World War I was settled for a period of time and would remain so for a while, they concentrated their efforts on the internal issues, and co-operated in that in a fruitful way, particularly in the framework of the legislative council.

After the law of 9/12/1929, everything became in the hands of the occupation authorities that introduced in the subjects of education some anti-hellenistic items. Moreover, under the pretext of finding the money needed, tasks were withdrawn from "school committees", particularly their right of appointing teachers in primary education. As a result, those teachers fell under the mercy of the British occupation that exerted every possible effort to weaken feelings of nationalism and the national spirit. It is proved that running the schools by representatives of Greek Cypriots in what is called *ephoreia* was fruitful as the percentage of the literate people rose to 45%. That progress was achieved in the framework of the Greek wake of nationalism in Cyprus and outside, where it extended to Greece itself, Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Macedonia, and Thrace. Thus, Cyprus had a tangible contribution in this new resurrection of Greek nationalism, the thing feared and resisted by the British. Taxes were increased along with the suffering of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Cyprus and its financial administration were directly following the British Ministry of Finance. According to the opinion of the British governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, the British investors did not get any encouragement in Cyprus because of the state of instability and the rise of the sense of nationalism. Therefore, that British governor who was an expert in Classics took upon himself to turn the Cypriots into "English people talking in Greek". What complicated matter was that the universal economic crisis had reached its utmost at that time.

The crisis of the suspected law of education (9/12/1929) inflamed the already heated exacerbation in the hearts of Greek Cypriots. On 26/6/1930, they held "a national meeting" in the bishopric and voted

for the founding of a "Cypriot National Organisation" whose main proclaimed aim was to achieve union (*Enosis*) by all possible means. The union was in fact the last resort for the Cypriot National Movement after the failure of all attempts of constitutional reforms. In fact, whenever the Cypriot people fell into depression, they resorted to raising the banner of *Enosis*, as in the case of the Arab nation and their slogan of "unity".

The Turkish Cypriot leadership was certainly against that direction because the occupation authority was favouring them in all fields as a political card in its hand. As already mentioned, the British governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, was an expert in classics and a philhellenist, but he obliterated all this culture, or put it aside, and became biased to the British imperialism and its administration in Cyprus. He participated in 1928-1930 in planning to assert the annexation of Cyprus to Britain, and even intended to undertake a public referendum concerning this issue. The British made use of Cypriot internal contentions between different Greek tendencies and views existing among mild unionist Greek Cypriots, revolutionary radicals and the agents who co-operated with the occupation. Sir Ronald Storrs used to visit the countryside and seek the friendship of farmers as if he exchanged the friendship of the contending politicians for their own friendship. Thus, the agrarian co-operative movement was started in the first two decades of the twentieth century, then flourished in the twenties through the encouragement of Storrs to be a weapon directed towards political hegemony. The agrarian bank was established with foreign capital, then a new call started to obliterate the property of ecclesiastic lands as well as the *Wakf* system, to be distributed among the impoverished farmers. This remained as a communist slogan expounded in the elections of October 1930. The idea appeared first in Paphos and was blessed by the Greek consul in Cyprus, Alexis Kyrou, of Cypriot origin. Kyrou also welcomed the union as best as he could, and was in contact with leaders of such inclination both secretly and openly. One of these leaders was the bishop of Citium born in Ammokhostos, Nikodemos Mylonas (1889-1937), who was a mine of knowledge, a great orator, a wise

philosopher, and a spontaneous political leader. He has published many articles in several Cypriot and European periodicals, all of which revolve round social, economic, political and legal matters. He contributed in founding the periodical *Kypriaka Chronika*. He lived for a while in the Mount of Gibraltar, England, France, Palestine, and was buried in Jerusalem.

The few years before the riots of 1931, the church came to know that the union meant the confiscation of its property for the interest of the impoverished. However, the Cypriot church – and even all the individuals of the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie – kept raising the slogan of the union and kept urging the people towards it for it was the sublime hope for all, and for which all party and ideologic differences would melt. It actually represented peaceful co-existence between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the "united, co-operative movement" that contained the two parties since it had been established in the late twenties.

The national gathering on 26/6/1930 was considered a kind of disciplined expression of the sweeping public excitement buried underground for a long time. In 1929, a number of teachers, lawyers, journalists and other people of culture and other professions, met and established the "Radical National Union of Cyprus" (EREK). The movement first started in Kyrenia and then later it moved to Nicosia. The proclaimed aim for the union was to liberate Cyprus of the British occupation and to achieve *Enosis*. The October elections of 1930 came with a majority of Greek unionists, and a majority of Turkish nationalists (against occupation). The Turkish hegemony stood as the trustworthy agent according to the British authority, led by Munir, and supported the integrated policy under the leadership of Nagati, the Turkish Cypriot nationalist. The contents of these elections and its results were that the balance of power in the legislative council was changed not for the interest of British occupation. That was manifested when Robert Storrs proposed a new legislation for the tariff, and when it failed, he got angry and sent the whole matter to London. An unjust law for the whole of Cyprus was issued from there.

In September 1931, the British government announced – without any bother about the crushing financial crisis- that the surplus in the Cypriot budget would be spent in other purposes for the interest of the Great Empire!

On 17 October 1931, the concept of union was disintegrated in the lines of the national movement due to internal rift between two opposite parties among its members, some of which were radical extremists, while others were careless agents. There is no wonder in that because Venizelos, the Prime Minister of Greece, constantly advised the Cypriots to co-operate with the English; while the Greek consul at that time, Alexis Kyrou (1901-1968), used to receive these instructions but never followed them. On the contrary, he urged others to do the opposite for he was very enthusiastic and supported the radical extremist trend. It is worth noting that this Greek diplomat has written two important books that shed light on this period. The first is entitled *The Greek Foreign Policy* (Athens, 1955); and the second, *Dreams and Reality* (Athens, 1972). On the 18th of October 1931, the bishop of Citium, Nicodemos Milonas, was the leader of "EREK" in Kyrenica and he openly declared rebellion against the British rule and resigned from the legislative council.

This was the first spark that enkindled the Greek Cypriot revolt on 20 October 1931 in which Milonas boldly declared the "Federation of Cyprus and Greece". People spontaneously rose and declared rebellion against the detestable British rule. Within two days, the flames of the revolt spread all over Cyprus stretching to four hundred villages. Many Turks joined the revolt and barriers were broken between the different citizens of Cyprus. Poutros Stylianou has illustrated in his Ph.D. dissertation that there were echoes in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and the Sudan to the revolt of October 1931[13]. The British governor had to call additional British forces from Egypt. On 21 October 1931, the house of the British governor in Nicosia was

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(13) [Greek] Stylianou (Nicosia 1984), pp. 156-173 et passim.
Idem, (1989), pp. 14-17.

burned, 11 Greeks were killed, hundreds were wounded, and thousands were put in jail. Eventually, penal fines were forced on all the inhabitants and additional taxes were imposed to cover material losses as an outcome of the revolt. The leaders of the movement were arrested and exiled to England, while Nicodimos Milanos had been arrested on the eve of the revolt on 19 October 1931 and he was deported along with bishop Makarios from Kyrenia. Venizelos condemned these riots which spoiled the good relations between Greece and Great Britain when the former was in dire need for such friendship. It has been clear without any further illustration that Britain was clutching hard to Cyprus whatever the circumstances were, particularly after 1931 when it was almost certain that Britain would be forced to abandon Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt. Nevertheless, we do not agree with the Cypriot scholar, Kyrris, when he says that it was the Cypriot revolt of 1931 that delayed the case because it took place at an inconvenient time. He states that "the unionists as well as the Greek consul Kyrou fell in the trap prepared by the British imperialism for the Hellenism in Cyprus" (14).

Achillas Kyrou (1898-1950), the elder brother to the above mentioned consul and who wrote many books the most important of which is *The firm Wantering in the War* (Athens 1946), states in *Hestia*:

> *Venizelos saw that a distant Greek island (i.e. Cyprus) rebelled and revolted under inconvenient international circumstances, and in the face of the closest friends and allies to Britain. It was at a time Greece intended to ask necessary military and naval assistance to help Cyprus if Britain thought of yielding the Island to Greece*(15).

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(14) Kyrris, op. cit., pp. 245-246.
Compare: [Greek] Pantazi, (Athens 1971), pp. 21, 60, 62, 75, 76, 90, 111, 132, 144, 145, 150, 155, 156, 157, 163, 166, 175, 187, 282, 312.

(15) It is worth noting that the Kyrou brothers were of Cypriot origin. Concerning Achillas Kyrou, see:
[Greek] Pernares (Nicosia 1977) p. 76.

4- Palmerocracy and World War II

In the fourth decade of the twentieth century, from 1931-1940 to be exact, Cyprus witnessed what became known in books of history as "Palmerocracy". Storrs issued a series of resolutions and adopted many unjust measures that made this decade the worst one for Cypriots. An order was issued to forbid raising the Greek or Turkish Cypriot flags on official buildings. The election of the local council was cancelled and they appointed whoever cared for the position. After the death of Archbishop Kyrril III on 16/3/1933, his place was left vacant until 1947 because the British authorities did not allow proceeding with the elections in the usual manner. The bishop of Paphos who was born in Limassol, Leontios (1896-1947), against whom court cases were raised for composing and singing "psalms for *Enosis*", strongly protested. He was put under house arrest and his movement was limited. Then the new governor, Sir Richmond Palmer, took over and proposed direct British trusteeship on primary education, and imposed severe measures on the running of secondary education schools, concerning financial resources and positions. Similar measures were imposed on the medical and law professions, as they forbade practising them for those who were not graduated from British universities. No one could teach in the secondary schools except those who got a licence from the ruling authorities. It was also forbidden to establish local organisations whether commercial or non-commercial. That banning was not alleviated except in 1936.

The Greek Cypriots strongly protested against these severe measures and considered them anti-Hellenistic. Bishop Leontios led this movement, and in November 1932, he was fined £ 250, though he succeeded in defending himself against the charge. As to the "union psalms", all features of instigation were omitted. However, he was not totally released, but remained under forced settlement in the region of Paphos for two years (1938-1940). After this period of time, he did not stop struggling and delivering speeches calling for "*Enosis*".

By the outbreak of World War II after the Italian attack on

Greece as Britain's ally, the British forces of occupation started to loosen their tight round people's freedom in Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot people themselves had begun the loosening measures and abandoned all exceptional laws and set clamorous celebrations for the victory of Greece over the Albanian front from 28 October 1940-16 April 1941. Nonetheless, the English did not lift the banning on raising the flags in Cyprus except in 1946. As to the law of press censorship, its application wavered between firmness and tolerance according to each stance and each occasion; while the constitution – cancelled on 12/11/1932 – was not revived again except after the end of the British occupation. On 6/9/1935, a law was issued to provide the considerable financial assistance to the secondary schools, provided they introduce modifications in their educational programs, i.e. to reduce the hours set for Greek language and classical studies for the benefit of English language. Some schools publicly accepted that, while they secretly increased the hours set for Greek lessons.

During World War II, Britain was in need of the Cypriot soldiers and published an advertisement asking them to join the war to fight for liberty and Hellenism. Thirty thousand Greek Cypriots joined the war as a result, many of whom died in vain because their dream of *Enosis* was not realised until after the end of the war and the victory of the armies who took part. Greece bitterly suffered during the German occupation and rejected a proposal presented by Hitler that proposed that Greece would be neutral and not to be involved in the war, and would be granted Cyprus in return after the end of the war. Berlin's Radio station directed to Greece had announced some years before the war and then after it broke out the promise of liberating from the English and handing the Island down to Greece, i.e. realising the *Enosis*. The aim was to attract the Greek Cypriots to the Nazi ideology and the axis camp. The German mass media densely concentrated on urging Greek Cypriots to revolt against the British occupation.

In December 1940, after two months of the Italian attack on Greece on 28/10/1940, in answering this propaganda the British ambassador in Athens, Sir Michael Palairet, hinted at the idea of

Britain's surrender of Cyprus to Greece. Soon, however, another British official, Philip Nichols, denied the hint (not the announcement) for as a responsible person about Greek affairs in the British foreign ministry, he was seeking Britain's surrender of the twelve islands and Syria to Turkey. He said that Turkey would counter-attack and resist that *Enosis* by all means, and they have to satisfy Turkey by any means.

On 21/3/1941, the secretary of the British Foreign Ministry, Sir Anthony Eden, visited the Greek Prime Minister, Alexander Koryzis, and they were involved in long talks together. The latter asked him to realise the Greek request, which was the annexation of Cyprus to Greece, who fared well in World War II with the allies. Eden answered that the discussion of that sensitive and complicated issue did not lie within his assigned task. Koryzis repeated the request at the end of March of the same year saying that the German occupation of Greece made all Greek Islands-including Crete – unsafe and not fit for the Greek King, and that the best thing was annexing Cyprus or part of it to be the residence of the Greek King on Greek territory. In April 1941, the same request was reiterated by the Greek Prime Minister and King George himself who asked for forty thousand soldiers to accompany him to Cyprus. Though Sir Winston Churchill says in his memoirs that on 13 April 1941, he sent a telegram to General Wilson in Athens approving and supporting the transference of the Greek King and his army to Cyprus, the official British answer by Eden on 14 April 1941 was negative and it noted that the King could practise his powers from Cyprus as any president of a foreign country residing there, without having any authority on the Island!

In May 1941, the Greek Prime Minister, Emmanuel Tsouderos, who was living in Crete at that time, proposed that Cyprus should be offered at that historic instance to King George as a personal gift. The important thing is that Eden refused to make Cyprus the residence of the King with the excuse that it was not more secure than Crete. An official detailed answer from Britain came on 31 May 1941 implying that the future of Cyprus was being discussed then within the

framework of a general peace treaty at the end of the present war. Then, the idea of annexing the Island to Greece could be discussed. It was also stated in the same answer that the Turkish Cypriots would not accept handing Cyprus over to Greece so simply. The matter was concluded by the settling of the Greek King in Egypt during World War II.

The national Greek demands after World War II were: Cyprus, the twelve islands, and the north of Epirus. The Greek government in exile presented two memoranda with that implication dated 29/9/1941 to the British Foreign Ministry. Another memorandum was presented by King George to the American President, Roosevelt, on 12/6/1942. The Greek Prime Minister, Tsouderos, announced the contents of the memo on 15/11/1941. Turkey was in great anger that the British Foreign Ministry had to deny there were any negotiations with Greece about Cyprus. Churchill turned down the Greek demand of the twelve islands out of fear of Turkish protests. On 1/3/1943, Tsouderos asked Eden to reinforce the Greek fleet in the Aegean Sea. Thus, the Greek-Turkish struggle in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean began to take a new dimension; and in 1942-1943, Turkey started to tighten its hold on the Greeks in Istanbul. In December 1942, Kanellopoulos Pan, the deputy Greek P.M. in exile, strongly demanded the British government to surrender Cyprus (the archipelago) to Greece after the end of the war, and to give an official answer to that demand in order to induce Turkey to participate in the war against the axis states.

Between 4 April – 5 October 1941, the "Progressive Party of the Working People" (AKEL) was founded and Ploutis Servas was elected as a Secretary General. In this party there was representation of the agrarian, vocational and commercial unions. It was a legal party replacing the illegal, secret communist party. The main proclaimed aim in the party's programme was illustrated in declaring war on Fascism and dictatorship in a legal manner for the restoration of the Cypriots' oppressed liberty and working towards solving the problems of Cyprus and achieving peaceful co-existence between the Greek and Turkish elements. The concentration was naturally on the working

classes. However, their ultimate goal was to establish democracy for the whole people.

There was an instant reaction from the Cypriot Right, as Themistocles Dervis declared in May 1942 the establishment of the "National Cypriot Party". The Workers' Union of Cyprus and the New Union for Commercial organisations were also established to rival the supervision of the Progressive Party (AKEL) over the general Union for Workers in Cyprus (PSO, later, PEO). In 1943 the Union for Turkish Workers was established as well as the General Cypriot Union for the Agrarians (PEK). Then, the Cypriot Turkish People's Party (KTHP, i.e. *Kibris Turk Halk Partisi*) was founded in 1944. Its founder was Fazil Kucuk. This party replaced the Union of the Turkish Cypriot Organisation (KATAK) headed by Fayez Kaymac. At the end of World War II, the Union of the Commercial Turkish Organisations was composed of 13 organisations only. Until 1958, the number of its members was only 1137 because the majority of Turkish workers preferred to join the General Union for the Workers of Cyprus (PEO). That was what the Turkish agricultural workers did who kept their membership even after 1974 in spite of the oppressive Turkish invasion. In 1944, the Greek Cypriot Socialist Progressive Party (PESP) was established in Paphos under the leadership of Ch. Calatopoulos, the lawyer who had participated in the revolt of 1931.

We have alluded to these parties to illustrate the extent of the blooming of the political movement and the revival of philosophical thought and cultural artistic life in Cyprus. Dramatic troupes were formed and presented serious shows; music societies were founded, one under the name of "Aris", and another was called "Mozart". The classic Greek tragedies were staged as well as the classic concerts led by the maestro Solon Michaelides in Limassol, and Iangos Michaelides in Nicosia. Spyrithacis supervised the artistic concerts organised by secondary schools. The "Union" became the general national motto raised by all parties and spread its wings on all activities that all party and political trends signed a "general statement" in November 1944, calling for *Enosis*. A committee representing all political parties was

formed to follow up the struggle, the carrying out of the call. By the break out of the Civil war in Greece in December 1944, (and later 1946-1949) all hopes held for that born national collective work were dissipated. It reached an extreme that a civil war on a small scale was going to break out in Cyprus as an echo to what was happening in Greece.

Most oppressive measures and laws were annulled in October 1946. However, the Union movement was vehemently inflamed with renewed enthusiasm inspired by the general resolution of the international principle, i.e. the right to decide one's destiny for all peoples of the world. That slogan was raised in World War II against Nazism and fascism. In December 1946, Leontions went to London heading a delegation to present the old request, *Enosis*, once again. The delegation consisted of Zeno Rossides for the "National Council", Demetry Demetriou, chairman of the chamber of commerce, and John Klerides, the Mayor of Nicosia. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Minister in the British Labour government, showed sympathy towards the request of union, but the official British reply was negative, and the same reply was again given on 7 February 1947. Each time, the British government was making the pretext that the Turkish Cypriots would ask the annexation of Cyprus to Turkey if the condition of the Island under the British occupation was changed.

Leontios was then elected as an archbishop with over-whelming support from the leftist majority, defeating Porphyrios of Sinai who was backed by the national front, on 20 June 1947, only four months after the arrival of Lord Winster, the new British governor who was instructed with new assignments, the foremost of which was laying a constitution for Cyprus. On his arrival, he was boycotted by the Greek Cypriots, and welcomed by the Turkish. On 12 July 1947, Leontios asked his followers to withdraw from the consultation council held by Winster with the aim of collecting suggestions for the new constitution. However, Leontios died on 26/9/1947, and his successor, Makarios of Kyrenia, took office on 24/12/1947. He was known as Archbishop Makarios II. He followed the same way, that is the boycotting and

peaceful struggle for achieving *Enosis*. He had been in exile after the revolt of 1931 and was allowed to come back in 1946.

The British were able to hold the consulting council on 7/11/1947 directed by Sir Edward Jackson, the High Judge. In this meeting the *Enosis* and complete self-rule were put aside. The proposals issued on 7 May 1948 were as follows:

(1) The right to vote for every citizen from the age of 21.

(2) The members of the legislative council are to be 22 as follows: 18 Greek and 4 Turks. In addition to four official members headed by anyone they choose, but he has not the right to vote.

(3) The approval of the British governor should be obtained before presenting the law projects concerning financial, defensive, and foreign affairs, the constitution and the minorities.

(4) The executive council is to consist of four officials of the members of the legislative council and other members outside it. Its resolutions are only recommendations.

Though these proposals included some concessions from the British government, they did not convince the Cypriot Right or Left and so both rejected the proposals.

On 12/8/1948, the Consulting Council was cancelled, and on 16/9/1948 the Left Wing of the general union for Workers (PEO) organised processions in Nicosia and in other places for the sake of self-rule. Then it organised a general strike to protest against the British governor, Lord Winster. On 13/7/1948, the National Council was reorganised under the auspices of Makarios, the new bishop of Citium and the head of the National Office. A massive meeting was held on 3 October 1948 in support of the request of *Enosis*. The Turkish Cypriot reply came with a counter meeting that included 15 thousand citizens on 28/11/1948 under the leadership of Dr. Kucuk. They declared their objection to the union, but the answer of the Cypriot Left was quick, as it announced the foundation of the

"National Federation for Liberation" (EAS), under the leadership of John Klerides, the Mayor of Nicosia. However, the latter shortly after that, in 1949, resigned his position(16).

5- Armed Struggle – EOKA 1955-1959

A referendum was undertaken on the principle of *Enosis* on 15/1/1950, and the result was an ushering of a new age in which events developed into armed struggle. The concept of a referendum concerning *Enosis* had been put forth since a long time and with persistence since the end of World War II. It was adopted by the Progressive Party (AKEL) and put forward in its priorities at the outset of its schedule. The concept was sent to the International Security Council on 23/11/1949. On 17/12/1949, the British administration rejected the idea of a referendum. The final outcome of the referendum of 15/1/1950 was the agreement of 95.7% of the inhabitants on *Enosis*.

The spark of the political struggle was enkindled, and its consequences fell on the shoulders of the new archbishop – Makarios III of Citium, who was still young and who took office from 20/10/1950 after the death of Makarios II on 28/6/1950. Makarios III, the most famous bishop of Cyprus, devoted himself to the *Enosis* case and attempted to persuade the countries of the world support it, the foremost among them was Greece. Britain had already closed that file through its response to the 1950 referendum undertaken without British approval. On the other hand, after World War II Greece had

(16) Concerning the Cypriot problem during 1940-1954, see:
Proc. Papastratis, British Policy towards Greece during second World War (1941-1944), Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984.
F. G. Weber, The Evasive Neutral Germany: Britain and the Quest for a Turkish Alliance in the Second World War, Univ. of Missouri Press, 1976.
M. Economidis, Cyprus: the Case for Enosis, London: Cyprus Affairs committee, 1954.
[Greek] Triantaphyllou (Patras 1981) passim.
[Greek] Machlouzarides (Cyprus 1985), pp. 1-275 et passim.

been depending almost entirely on Britain and America.

Consequently, it was not expected of Greece to adopt the *Enosis* case against the wish of Britain, particularly after the Civil War of 1944-1949 that totally wore out Greece. Therefore, the Cypriot delegates that went to Greece asking for support in achieving *Enosis* did not find any listening ears. A delegation of National Federation for Liberation (EAS) went to the United Nations after the tardiness of Greece and the Cypriot opposition powers. The latter two parties were the ones accused by Makarios in May 1952 through the Radio of lacking courage and daring, being satisfied with friendly negotiations with the authorities of British occupation. Makarios asserted that such negotiations were futile, which was approved by the Greek Archbishop, Spyridon.

A comprehensive national Cypriot meeting gathered in Nicosia after the resolution on 16/2/1952 of discussing the case of Cyprus in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The meeting was repeated on 25/4/1953, 23/7/1954, and on 26/8/1955. The Greek Prime Minister, Papagos, commanded the government representative in the United Nations, the Ambassador Alexis Kyrou, to present the proposal on 21/9/1953. The callous, unenthusiastic way of presenting the project was one of the secrets of its failure, for it was not included in the agenda. On 28/6/1953, Makarios vowed to seek *Enosis* by any means, and to accept assistance from the East and the West for the sake of achieving union. Three months after that date, on 7/10/1953, EOKA organisation was born, starting with the vow that obliged the Cypriot Greek Right with a group of politicians, cultured people and military men, as Savas, Socrates Louisides, Dr. Visanes and Jane, Papadopoulos, and G. Stratos. Ahead of them all was Archbishop Makarios who discussed the probability of armed struggle with George Grivas (1898-1974), the Cypriot revolutionary, and others in Athens from May 1951 to July 1952.

All Greek attempts to undertake negotiations with Britain about Cyprus came to a standstill. It even reached the extent of insult as

when Eden refused just to listen to Papagos's proposal of "bilateral friendly talks", i.e. unofficial talks, on 22/2/1953. On 28/7/1954, the Ministry of British colonies declared that Cyprus was among the colonies, which would never be subjected to self-rule or self-determination. Secretly, he was preparing a new colonial constitution for Cyprus to limit the freedom, impose restrictions on all activities, and organise secondary education with the aim of tightening the control over the Island. On 17/2/1954, the General Assembly of the United Nations refused to include the problem of Cyprus on the agenda. It was then that violent demonstrations in Limassol and Nicosia broke out on 18 December 1954. These demonstrations were a preamble to the armed confrontation aimed by the National Front at the Liberation of Cyprus (EMAK). By arresting a ship holding thirteen leading men of this front carrying important documents, its plans were disclosed. It was revealed that EMAK asked the communists to be away from their movement, likewise, it asked the Turkish Cypriots not to put barriers in their way, promising them to live together in peace and fraternity. At the same time, Turkey showed an increasing interest in Cyprus, and was encouraged by both the United States of America and Britain. In 1954, Turkey expressed its objection to any modification to the status of Cyprus, particularly concerning the principle of union with Greece.

Colonel George Grivas Dighenes arrived in Cyprus on 1/11/1954, after signing the "vow of Athens" on 7/3/1953. After detailed discussions he was chosen as a military commander to the secret organisation; and on 11/1/1955, the official name of the secret organisation for armed struggle became EOKA, or "National Organisation for Cypriot Fighter" (*Ethnike Organosis Kyprion Agoniston*). The name was confirmed in a secret meeting between Makarios and Grivas, and in the morning of the first of April 1955, the armed struggle began with the successive operations of military EOKA, and the rising of popular demonstrations supporting it, the British government appointed a new governor, Field Marshal John Harding who announced the state of emergency on 26/11/1955,

including taking exceptional measures and group punishment[17].

At the beginning the number of EOKA fighters was about 300, and their weapons came secretly from Greece while some weapons were locally manufactured. EOKA and its military operations gave Makarios's international and peaceful efforts an effective power and popular depth. Makarios participated in the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, 18-27 April 1955, in which Cyprus joined the third world countries struggling for liberation and independence. On 30 June 1955, Greece called upon Turkey to hold tripartite talks in London to peruse the political and defensive issues concerning east the Mediterranean, including Cyprus. That indicates a great turn in the Cypriot case, as Turkey became a chief party in it. So, Makarios strongly objected to these talks to which Cyprus was not invited as it was considered a breach of the principle of self-determination. Makarios put pressure on the Greek government to withdraw from the talks. With the explosion of a bomb on 21/6/1955 in the Turkish quarter in Nicosia, and the death of fourteen Turkish Cypriots, the situation was escalated, and the Cypriot Turkish role in the case increased. During the months of June and July 1955, some Turkish pamphlets against EOKA were distributed in Limassol, calling for the dismissal of a number of Greek headmasters of secondary schools, and welcoming the presence of the British rule. The pamphlets were signed by a secret Turkish organisation giving its initials as KITEB.

The tripartite talks held in London between 29 August to 7 September ended in absolute failure, not only because of the wide differences between each party and the other, particularly when Britain suggested a tripartite rule in Cyprus, that is the three negotiating parties, but also because on 6 September 1955, a wild Turkish attack on the Greeks settling in Istanbul and Smyrna took

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(17) Concerning EOKA and armed struggle in Cyprus (1955-1959), see:
Doros Alastos, The Guerrilla War in Cyprus, Trans. by M. Amin Abdullah, (From East and West Series, No. 166) Cairo: Dar Qawmeyya, 1966.
[Greek] Machlouzarides (Cyprus 1985), pp. 276-476.
[Greek] Clerides (Nicosia 1988-1991) Vol. I, pp. 30-73.

place. It was the Turkish response to a bomb that exploded on 5 September 1955 in the Turkish consulate attached to Ataturk's house in Salonica.

Makarios-Harding talks continued from 5 October 1955 to 29 February 1956 without any substantial results. The concentration in their negotiation was on the principle of self-determination on the one side, and the strategic needs of the British Empire, on the other. Britain refused to put schedule for self-determination, temporary self-rule and practising all powers except defence and foreign affairs, while Makarios rejected the British proposals. All nationalist political trends in Cyprus stood behind him. During that time, Britain depended more on Turkish Cypriots as security forces assisting the occupation forces. The aim was to quench the Greek Cypriot nationalist movement, and to put barriers in front of the unity of the two elements of the Cypriot nation.

Under the announced emergency state in Cyprus from 26/11/1955, Harding adopted exceptional measures. He cancelled all the national organisations and considered them illegal, at the foremost was the Progressive Party (AKEL). He did not acknowledge except the General Union for Workers (PEO). At the same time, Harding considered the counter organisation to EOKA, i.e.VOLKAN, a legal organisation. He did the same thing with the secret Turkish Cypriot organisation. Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister of Turkey, renewed his country's demands of Cyprus, using the threat of war. Then on 9 March 1956, Makarios, Kyprianou, Ioannides, and Papastaphros Papathanglo (of Vaniromini) were arrested and were exiled to the Seychelles where they remained until the middle of April 1957.

During that time violent actions increased in Cypriot cities and in some villages. Many were arrested and put in jail. Several schools were closed and there were other similar repressive measures. EOKA achieved its greatest victories during the tripartite aggression on Egypt in October-November 1956, after the nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

Anthymos of Citium, who filled the vacancy after the exile of Makarios, was arrested. For the first time then the formation of a national Cypriot government to represent all Cypriots was suggested. The idea that Greece should leave the NATO and join the organisation of non-aligned countries and Cairo-Belgrade axis was also introduced. That came out in EOKA pamphlet on 14 September 1956 during the Suez crisis.

It is noteworthy to mention that in 1955 a monthly newspaper appeared in Egypt entitled *Cyprus (Kypros)*, issued by the "Cypriot Resistance Committee" and its chief editor was the lawyer Vasos Kanavatis. Its aim was to enhance feeling of nationalism, to inform the public opinion of the facts of the Cypriot armed struggle, and to support the national struggle of the Egyptians. The paper continued until 12 October 1958, and it was published in Greek, French, English, and Arabic(18). We might understand now the reason why some (Greek) Cypriots participated in the Egyptian national resistance against the tripartite aggression of 1956.

Indeed, Radcliffe's proposal was laid down on 13 December 1956 for the Greek government and for Makarios in his exile. Briefly, the proposal was to form a Cypriot government with a Greek majority with the right of the British governor to dissolve the parliament, to dismiss the Prime Minister, and to ensure the right of the Turkish minority. When these proposals were delivered, Leonex Boyd announced for the first time the right of the Turkish Cypriots in self-determination and hinted at the partition as a plausible solution. It was natural for the Greek Cypriots to reject Radcliffe's proposal. Soon

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(18) Michaelides, An Illustrated Record, p. 269. It is worth mentioning that Georgos Philio Pierides published a book in Greek, Memories and Tales from Egypt, in Thessalonica in 1986, in which he talks about his memories and days in Egypt since his birth in 1913 until 1954. He has a novel entitled Cotton Merchants, published in Alexandria in 1945. See also:

[Greek] Petrondas (Nicosia 1994)

Philaniotou – Hadjiastasiou O., "The Greek Connection: from Alexandria to Cyprus". Lecture given at the Royal Scottish Museum (May 1988)

afterwards, violent incidents happened between the two elements of the Cypriot people, the Greeks and Turks. It continued during the months of January and February 1957, and many victims from both sides fell.

When the Cypriot case was discussed in the eleventh session of the General Assembly of the U.N., it was agreed on the proposal presented by the Indian delegate Krishnan Menon which called for a peaceful solution based on the Charter of the United Nations (Resolution No. 1013). According to this resolution, Grivas proposed a truce (14/3/1957) to facilitate the negotiations with Makarios, for according to the terms of the suggested truce, the release of Makarios from his exile and his return to Cyprus were included. The truce remained for eleven days after one of the great heroic acts of nationalism had taken place. It happened when the resistance soldiers remained in their places until they were burned to death in a place near Machairas Monastery. At the top of these martyrs there was the deputy commander of EOKA, Gregoris Afxention of Lyssi. This national heroism won the admiration of the whole world including some poets from Britain itself. Makarios and his companions were released and reached Athens on 17/4/1957 in great victory, in spite of strong Turkish protests.

In May 1957, Makarios attempted to persuade Grivas of stopping the armed struggle as it was futile and because the United States of America threatened to support the division if fighting did not stop. Some secret Turkish Cypriot organisations appeared and were working towards separating the Turkish quarters from the rest of Cyprus. The foremost among these was VOLKAN. Turkey was secretly supplying them with arms and provisions and planning its military operations. At that time, the number of Turks working in British security forces was 4200 in contrast to 697 Greeks[19].

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(19) [Greek] Machlouzarides, pp. 276-480.

6- Zurich-London Treaty

On 30/5/1957, the British refused to negotiate with Makarios on the basis of the above mentioned U.N. resolution No 1013, and demanded that negotiations should be based on Radcliffe's proposal and Boyd's statement on 19/12/1956. It was said then that these two bases would ensure the support of America and the NATO to a tripartite peace conference about Cyprus. The NATO's General Secretary sought all parties in order to reach an agreement about the establishment of an independent Cypriot state attached to the British Commonwealth. However, these attempts failed, and in October 1957, the British Labor party promised to liberate Cyprus if they won the elections. The British governor, Harding, retired and was replaced by Hugh Foot, the thing which revived the hopes of Greek Cypriots. On 14 December 1957, the General Assembly of the U.N. in its twelfth session supported its former resolution No. 1013.

However, the period between December 1957 to January 1958 witnessed an increase in the Turkish operations of violence in Cyprus that it became part of the daily routine of life there. The plotters of such operations aimed at revealing the inevitability of the partition of Cyprus. Naturally, Turkey was behind this wave of violence. Hugh Foot along with the British Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, offered some proposals to the Turkish Foreign Minister, Zorlo, summed up as: a self-rule for seven years; a separate self-determination for each of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots; and British bases. Turkey rejected these proposals and the other parties followed suit.

On 21 January 1958, two of the followers of the Progressive Party AKEL were killed by one of the men of EOKA, so an internal conflict broke out between the Greek Cypriots. There were turbulent demonstrations and riots. Makarios issued an appeal requesting the necessity for conciliation between the citizens. Foot sent a secret message to Grivas requesting a secret meeting with him, and Grivas responded by stopping the military operations. In the meantime, Harold Macmillan, the British P.M., was busy forming new proposals,

which he actually presented to the House of Commons on 19 June 1958. However, the Turkish Cypriot side killed any chance for rapprochement. Then, through their leader Rauf Denktash, under the auspices of Turkey and the disregard of Britain, a Turkish Cypriot organisation, TMT, under the command of Viruskan was founded. On 7 June 1958, a bomb exploded in the Turkish press office in Nicosia, and this was the beacon of the beginning of a series of violent operations against Greek Cypriots in cities and villages the whole of June and July 1958, under the eyes and nose of the British government. In Omorfita and other places, 700 Greek Cypriots were dismissed from their homes. It was for the first time then that wires were laid in the streets of Nicosia to separate between the Turkish and Greek quarters. These were semi-official beginnings for the partition – EOKA responded with a series of strong counter-attacks. Victims fell from both sides until a joint appeal to stop violence was signed by each of Foot, Makarios, Kucuk, Karamanlis and Menderes.

Macmillan presented his plan that included the appointment of a Greek deputy and a Turkish one to assist a Cypriot government to perform its task after its formation. Four Greek Cypriots and four Turkish should be elected to form the executive council responsible for internal affairs, except what is connected with the interior security and the different sectors of the community. These two fields in addition to the defence and foreign affairs would remain in the hands of the British governor. A public council for each side – the Greek and the Turkish- should be elected with an independent municipality for each side. The Cypriots could choose among Greek, Turkish or British citizenship or to combine between them. The plan decided not to change the international status of Cyprus in a transitional period of seven years. A Supreme Court should be formed to examine any case connected with the situations of the sectors of the community.

Makarios perused this plan and had consultations with the mayors of Cypriot cities and members of the National Council (the ethnarchy) staying in Athens. He sent a letter to Foot in June 1958 rejecting the plan, and on the following day, Caramanlis, the Greek

Prime Minister, sent a letter to Macmillan to the same effect. Between 24-26 March 1958, violent riots erupted and included strikes and a call to boycott British products. However, Turkey sent Cyprus a consul assigned to resume the study and the carrying out of Macmillan's plan after adding some modifications. On 22/9/1958, Makarios stated that he was ready to accept independence while putting aside the principle of "*Enosis*" and "partition", i.e. partitioning the Island between the Greek and Turkish inhabitants. In September-October 1958, the wave of violence increased and NATO's General Secretary, P. Spaak, presented a new plan, which was a modified version of Macmillan's plan and called for holding a penta or hepta peace conference. On 9 October 1958, Leonex Boyd announced in Blackpool that Britain had decided to carry out Macmillan's plan "because Cyprus lies very close to Turkey, and far away from Greece".

The answer of Kyprianou of Kyrenia and G. Papandreou came to reiterate the Greek-Cypriot decision to close the file of Macmilla-Spaak plan forever. Then, on 5/12/1958, the United Nations'resolution No 1287 was disappointing because it did not add anything new and was satisfied with urging to find a peaceful, democratic and just solution according to the former U.N. resolution No 1013. With an initiative from the Turkish Foreign Minister, Zorlo, negotiations started between him and the Greek Foreign Minister, Averoff, on 6 December 1958. These were the talks that helped to put an end to violent actions and paved the way to the Zurich-London convention.

Between 1967 and 1958, Makarios, Grivas, Anthymos of Citium, Locis Acritas, and other well-known Cypriots exercised an increasing pressure on the Greek government to withdraw from the league of NATO. But the Western allies did not take that threat seriously, and forced Greece to sacrifice its national interests for the success of this league. Hence we understand Greece's hesitation in supporting armed struggle in Cyprus. This contagion of hesitation reached Makarios himself. Before we come to Zurich-London convention, we have to cast a brief look at the strategic importance of Cyprus after the Suez War, in which Egypt came out victorious in confrontation of the tripartite

aggression and Great Britain lost a dangerous strategic passageway. The strategic expert, Kamal Abd El-Hamid, presents this subject in the following points:

(1) Cyprus became Britain's sole base in the whole region of the Middle East after withdrawing from the Suez Canal. Though Britain had been keeping bases at Shuaba and Habaneya in Iraq until the Iraqi revolution started, yet Britain had been keeping Cyprus as its main base for the whole of the Middle East. Britain continued its efforts to fortify and widen its strategic capacity since it was a base to the land, marine and air forces. For that reason, the headquarters of all British forces working in the Middle East were set on the Island.

(2) The Island was considered an immobile aircraft carrier that could accommodate the activity of a number of fighting aircraft and the heavy bombardments, which could reach over the Black Sea, the north of the Balkans, Middle Europe in the north; and to the south of the Nile Valley from the south; to Iraq, Iran and the Caucus from the east; and to Malta, Gibraltar, the north of Africa and the west of Europe from the west. The command of the tripartite aggression on Egypt had used the Island as a base for French and British forces that attacked Egypt in 1956. It was also used as a base to send British forces to Jordan after the Iraqi revolution. The heavy American air-craft (Y2) belonging to the Atlantic League made use of the Island as well in exploration and spying processes on the rocket positions and the Egyptian forces in the Suez Zone for Israel in 1970 during the war of attrition started by the Egyptian forces to Kick out Israel. It was the Cypriot papers that discovered that, particularly concerning the refueling of these crafts twice from the British bases in the Island.

(3) The availability of harbours for anchoring, repairing and supplying ships, particularly after improving its utilities and technical capabilities, after the British evacuation from Egypt. Thus, the Island capacity for marine operations has become wider, specially for the light and medium operations, in addition to the

availability of dry basins and the possibility of anchoring the floating basins there.

(4) The availability of manpower, though depending on the citizens at the time of the armed revolution against Britain did not much encourage the full use of workers. So, the instability in the Island diminished the importance of that factor, which led Britain to seek the assistance of Turkish labour.

(5) The abundance of stores, warehouses, oil-reservoirs, all over the Island. The existence of these utilities adds to the capacity of the island to accommodate enormous number of military forces for a long time, particularly when the local resources help greatly to achieve this aim.

(6) The closeness of the island to the entrance of the Suez Canal was procuring for Britain a position to protect or to threaten the Canal, as the distance between Port Said and Cyprus is 230 miles. Furthermore, the Island lies near the Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian and Turkish shores which increased its importance for Britain who was seeking to keep at least the appearance of its control over the east Mediterranean.

(7) Britain greatly benefitted from the situation of the Island in carrying out its plan for political propaganda and spying for her in the Middle East zone. So, Britain set up the Near East Radio station there, which officially became, since the beginning of the tripartite aggression on Egypt, the official tongue (for the voice of Britain), though the station stopped a long time ago.

(8) Since the beginning of the Palestine crisis between the Arabs and Zionists, Cyprus has become an arena for Zionist smuggling and spying on the Arabs. Thus, the island had a serious role in the political vicissitudes the Middle East has been subjected to since the end of World War II. Cyprus was even a centre for the assemblage of Jews emigrating from Europe to be smuggled to Palestine before the establishment of Israel in 1948.

(9) Cyprus is considered the back base that achieved the strategic

depth to Baghdad Pact in which Britain participated as a chief member. In spite of the participation of the United States in economic and military committees as well as the committee of the "resistance of destructive principles", Britain saw that remaining in Cyprus realises a degree of "fair" balance of appearance with the United States enhanced after World War II in the east of the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

(10) Cyprus complements the net of the British bases in the basin of the Mediterranean by co-operating with the bases in Libya, Malta, and Gibralltar, after Britain's loss of its bases in Palestine "'Jaffa", and in Egypt "the Suez Canal".

(11) There is probability that Russia might sneak into the waters of the Mediterranean after Albania had been included in the eastern block, the matter that increased Malta's liability to Soviet interference. Consequently, it led the British command to cling more to Cyprus in order to safeguard the right side of Malta, on the one hand, and for the probability of its starting any joint counter-operations against the "red" danger, on the other, whether it was through the lands, the straits of Turkey, through Greece, the southern entrance of the Atriatic Sea from Albania, or through benefitting Russia from the services offered by friendly countries to its fleet if anchored in its harbours. The importance of the Island was further increased after the arrival of modern submarines to each of Egypt and Israel.

(12) Due to the distance of the Island from any regional waters of any state, the probability of its invasion from the sea is not an easy matter, specially because its mountainous nature does not much encourage air invasion, though it is considered a base for invading operations on the surrounding countries. This happened in October 1956 when the British and French forces met there to attack Egypt. Therefore, it is a base for attack, at the same time, it is comparatively safeguarded against outside attack, though it was proved the contrary later on when the Turkish invasion attacked the north of the Island depending on air force, in July 1974.

(13) The importance of the Island increased after the discovery of oil there. The interest in prospecting for petroleum could have been greater if the island did not pass through such circumstances as its revolt against Britain on the one hand, and the latter's engagement in the crisis of the Suez Canal on the other. However, until now the capacity of oil is very little as far as we know, but that does not belittle the economic resources of the Island[20].

On 18/2/1958, both Averoff and Zorlo reported to the British Foreign minister, Selwyn Lloyd, while in Paris during the NATO council, about the treaty under discussion between Greece and Turkey concerning the independence of Cyprus and putting aside its union with Greece as well as the project of partitioning the Island. Macmillan accepted the proposal of the treaty, and on the eve of Christmas, Grivace proposed a truce. The talks were resumed in Paris from 18-20 January 1959. But a new problem appeared when Zorlo demanded a Turkish base in Cyprus and asked to give permission of two Greek bases to be set there. Makarios was informed about the Turkish terms. He accepted them and only objected to the proportion of civil servants of Greeks and Turks to be 70:30. He suggested segregation between the two municipalities in cities, which was originally a Turkish request, objected by Averoff.

They finally agreed on the treaty of Zurich on 11 February 1959, after seven days of strenuous negotiations. The instructions of America, the NATO, the CIA, all had a great role in reaching this convention. Foster Dulles, the American Secretary of State, was closely following the negotiations with effective intervention sometimes. It is useful here to present the main terms of the treaty of Zurich. It runs as follows:

First : The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus.

Second: This treaty is to be safeguarded by each of Britain, Greece, Turkey, and the Republic of Cyprus.

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(20) [Arabic] Muh. Kamal Abd El-Hamid, op. cit. pp. 454-458.

Third: A treaty of alliance should be held between Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey.

Fourth: An unofficial, friendly agreement should be held between Karamanlis, the Greek P.M., and his Turkish counterpart, Menderes.

When Makarios read the text of the treaty, he greatly hesitated in attending the enlarged conference held in London for the signing of the treaty. Britain, Greece, Turkey, Greek and Turkish Cypriots were participating in the conference. After detailed discussions by Makarios with the Greek and Cypriot political authorities, he flew to London on 14 February 1959 with the aim of attempting all possible means to improve some terms of the agreement. The Greek Cypriots feared that Britain would leave them under the mercy of Turkish forces, which could invade the Island. It was Britain that spread the rumour of the probability of the Turkish invasion to terrorize the Greek Cypriots, particularly after the outbreak of the Iraqi revolution commanded by the Leftist Ba'th Party in Baghdad, in 1958. The Iraqi revolution hurled monarchy and held an alliance with Russia that led to the dissolution of Baghdad League and the diminishing of the role of Turkey in the region. Britain promoted its new policy that it needed not stay in Cyprus as a power of occupation, but only needed a military base there. This new British policy is considered one of the consequences of the Suez crisis, as the British started to reconsider their colonies at the east of Suez and suggest new ideas concerning "Great Britain". They then said they needed the oil of the Middle East and the Gulf and the people of such regions need their technology, their markets, and protection. In brief, America gradually started to replace Britain in the region since the end of World War II. That tendency became stronger after the Suez War.

It is noteworthy mentioning here that Kamal Abd El-Hamid, the expert in strategic studies, states that Greece was among the countries included among the "Near East", which comprises the south of the Balkans, Turkey, the islands of the Mediterranean and Egypt. The

appellation disappeared in World War II since the expansion of the fields of military operations in the north east of Africa, in the west of Asia, and in the east of the Mediterranean basin against Germany and Italy. The Middle East boundaries extended then from the outskirts of the Far East to the Mediterranean basin. The Near East countries melt in the square of this developing region. In other words, Turkey, the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and the eastern half of North Africa became included among the new regional group.

As to Greece, as Kamal Abd El-Hamid states, in spite of its close ties with European activity, it is also associated with the Middle East at the same time, whether for its old close relations with the region, specially with Arab countries, or due to the problem of Cyprus between Greece and Britain. Britain has established in the region a centre for directing its scattered forces in the bases of the Middle East and that caused the succession of armed struggle in the Island, the increasing political struggle in which Britain, Turkey and Greece participated for the future of the Island. Indeed, since 1954 the Island has become a military base that has its special strategic importance, i.e. since Britain started liquidating its base in the Suez Canal. Moreover, Greece's attitude towards the Palestinian problem and its non-recognition of Israel has a great effect in enhancing its relationship with Arab countries, though Greece has been a member of the NATO whose members recognise the state of Israel. Therefore, in spite of all circumstances, Greece's attitude was more noble and closer to the Arab states than the attitude of Turkey (and Iran at that time) [21]. This strategic vision is still valid until now while we are on the threshold of the twenty first century.

Greece accepted Zurich's treaty that excludes the union of Cyprus with elder sibling Greece. Moreover, the treaty did not succeed in putting an end to the armed struggle in the Island. The greater worry for those who imposed the treaty on all parties was the care for

(21) Ibid., pp. 452-453. Compare with Muh. Nassif, Cyprus Between the Teeth of the NATO, Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organisation, 1977.

the unity of the NATO as protecting armour from communism coming from the European and Russian North. But as both Turkey and Greece joined the League in 1952, they had to offer concessions in proportion to the services offered to the League. In this case, the great loser is the Cypriot national interest, i.e. the Greek Cypriots and their Greek brethren's. It was them who heavily paid the price, as to the rest of the parties they have already realised all their interests.

In the documents of the treaty of Zurich, it was decided that the partition and the duality of the Cypriot community have become a settled matter and constitutional. This principle has to be taken into consideration in establishing the structure of the state, the legislative, executive and administrative institutions of the Cypriot Republic in future. It is a dual or binary rule in which each of the Greek Cypriot President and his Turkish Cypriot vice-President has the veto over the other in the important political matters. The membership and positions were distributed in legislative, executive and administrative matters with the proportion of 70: 30; and in the armed forces with the ratio of 60: 40.

As to the separation between municipalities in big cities, it started as a matter of fact imposed by the Greeks and overlooked by the British occupation since 1958, so it has become now legal and constitutional. It is accomplished by separate elections undertaken in each side. The parliament is onstituted from 35 Greek and 15 Turkish members.

Britain, Greece and Turkey guaranteed the treaty and pledged to protect Cyprus and the unity of its territories. In case of a breach of any term in the treaty, the three states have to act together. If that was not possible, each state could act alone provided the sole aim of any movement would be restoring the affairs to their normal conditions, as stated by the current treaty. Moreover, the three states should guarantee the safety of the two bases granted to Britain in Cyprus. Furthermore, it is strictly forbidden for Cyprus to have union with any other state-whether Greece or Turkey – and the idea of the

"partition", i.e. separating the Turkish sector from the rest of Cyprus, should be totally omitted from the agenda of any future negotiation. The agreement stated the holding of a league between Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey for co-operation and consultation in matters of defence and the protection of the unity of Cypriot territory, with the establishment of a united command of a joint military force.

A friendly – not official- agreement was accomplished between Greece and Turkey to seek the joining of Cyprus to the NATO League and to urge Cypriot authorities to annul the communist party and issue a general amnesty.

These are the terms of the Treaty of Zurich. Makarios's arduous efforts to modify some of its terms were futile. He was subjected to irresistible pressures from all sides, so he eventually had to sign it on 19 February 1959. Most Cypriots received the treaty with some comfort and optimism. When Makarios returned to Cyprus on the first of March 1959, masses of people received him as a victorious hero.

On 13 December 1959, Makarios was elected the first President to the Cypriot Republic, as he drew 67% of the votes in contrast to 33% for his rival John Clerrides who was the leader of the opposition to the treaty. The Turkish Cypriot side elected Fazil Kucuk as Deputy President, and he had no rival. They both gave the pledge of allegiance with the ministers on 16 August 1960, officially announcing the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. A new page started in the history of the Island[22].

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(22) Concerning events of 1959-1960, and the Treaty of Zurich-London, see:
[Arabic] Yousry Sultan, Independent Cyprus, Cairo: Al- Dar Al-Qawmeyya, 1971.
[Greek] Kranidiotis, (Athens, 1985).
Idem, (Athens, 1983).
[Greek] Loizides (Athens, 1980).

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Fig. No. (57)

= [Greek] Michaelides M. (Athens, 1992).
[Greek] Clerides (Nicosia, 1988- 1991) Vol.I, pp.74-93.
Stanley Kyriakides, Cyprus Constitutionalism and Crisis Government, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969.
Petros Stagor, La Question de Chypre 1950-1960: Memoire, Paris, 1975.
G. Tenekides, Chypre: Histoire Recente et Perspectives D'avenir, Paris: Nagel, 1964.

CHAPTER V

THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS (1960 –)

" Quas [Sc. Leges Zeno et Stoici] non uni civitati, sed toti humano generi tulerunt".

(Seneca, *De Otio* VI, 4)

'The tradition established [by Zeno and the Stoics] was not for a certain nation but for the whole of humanity". (Seneca, On Leisuer Time VI, 4)



Fig. No. (58)

1- Failure of the Treaty of Zurich-London

The Cypriot historian, Nicos Cranidiotes – born in Kyrenia in 1911 – depicts the tragedy of the Republic of Cyprus and the feeling of dismay of the Cypriot people in his two books: The *Hard Years* and *The Unfortified Republic*, written in two volumes (about 1300 pages). They are two complementary books that narrate the story of the birth of this Cypriot Republic from 1960-1974. He says that he has divided the story into three periods of time; the first from 1960 to 1963, the time of the united republic with its two ethnic communities; the second from 1964 to 1967 in which there were attempts to Hellenise the country, or to turn it into a Greek entity with the exception of a slight part (4.86%) of the land to be left to the Turkish Cypriot minority to run it; the third period from 1967 to 1974 in which Greek attempts were exerted to give independence to the Turkish minority in self-administration(1). This means that we can add a fourth period, from the Turkish invasion of July 1974 until now.

As always happens in the Middle East negotiations, the extremists on both sides, the Greek and Turkish in Cyprus were not satisfied with the Zurich-London Treaty. The two sides considered it a stage towards achieving the supreme goal for each side separately; i.e. *Enosis* for the Greeks and "partition" for the Turks. Each side, therefore, took fast measures to strengthen its position, particularly reinforcing its army. On 18 October 1959, the Turkish ship, Deniz, was secretly carrying heavy weapons and and provisions for the Turks, but it sank with its crew opposite Kyrenia while attempting to evade the pursuit of the Cypriot coastal security authorities. If it did not sink, the secret would have not been out. It indicates that Turkey had been continually sending arms and provisions to the Turks of Cyprus.

In counterpoint, the Greeks of Cyprus were turned into groups at a time the Turks of Cyprus were carefully planning to reach their goal. What was more serious was that suspicion was more established

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(1) [Greek] Kranidiotis, *passim*.

between the two sides and they entirely lost trust in each other. Of course, there were some exceptions as in the incident of January 1960 when the Turkish Cypriot press supported Makarios's attitude for he objected to Britain's request of keeping 136 miles of the land of Cyprus for British military bases. This was a golden chance for the Greeks of Cyprus to build a bridge of mutual trust between the two parties, but the Greek side wasted this chance as they wasted many others before and after this to protect the unity of the Island. A Greek historian has considered the problem of Cyprus from the very beginning as "the tale of lost chances"(2). It, perhaps, reminds us of Palestine problem and the lost chances since the beginning of the twentieth century until today.

The cases of differences between the two Cypriot sides are still unsolved. They are connected with the constitution and laws. Therefore, aspects of co-operation between two sides are mostly external and superficial, not quintessential. The extremists on both sides kept fighting this surface co-operation. The Turkish extremists killed some of their fellow-citizens who cooperated with the Greek community as A. Hekmet Gercan (April 1962). The Turkish Cypriots made use of the joining of Makarios to the non-aligned countries, or positive neutrality, and his participation in Belgrade conference in September 1961 and announced that this tendency was considered a breach of the spirit of Zurich-London Treaty because it is a tendency towards taking sides with communism. What is odd is that the Turkish Cypriot protest was accompanied at the same time with protest from a number of Greek Cypriots. The Greek government itself as a member in the NATO saw a kind of noncompliance in the policy of Makarios. Thus, all these parties contributed in depicting the image of Cyprus led by Makarios as if it were Albania of east Europe, or Cuba of the Mediterranean. They compared between this Cypriot nationalist leader and Fidel Castro and started to shed light on Makarios's

(2) We mean Averoph Tositsas's book, pub. In 1981 in Athens in Greek, and the translation of the title is: *The History of Lost chances: the Cypriot Problem, 1950-1963.*
[Greek] G. Averoph Tositsas (Athens, 1981).

relationship with AKEL (Progressive Party of the Working People) who were allotted three seats in the parliament. When Johnson – the American Vice – President at that time – visited Cyprus on 4/9/1962, the Turks held private talks with him in their quarters in Nicosia, and poisoned his ear against the policy of Makarios and the Greek Cypriots on the basis that they were encouraging communism and threatening the regional security. What Makarios had achieved of success when he visited the American President, Kennedy, on 5/5/1962, was ruined by all these issues, each in his own way.

When the enlightened Turkish ambassador in Cyprus, Dirvana, attempted to reconcile between the two Cypriot communities, his attempt was aborted. Dirvana had a tendency towards idealism. He was wise and careful. He wanted the Turks to adopt a mild policy away from partition between the two communities in Cyprus, and away from dismissing Greek Cypriots from their villages and houses in the Turkish quarters. However, he was called to Turkey before he was able to realise any of his enlightened dreams.

These matters motivated Makarios on 30/11/1963 to propose reconsideration in thirteen provisions of the 1960 constitution that obstruct the government to perform its tasks in a sound manner. Among these provisions were the right to use veto by the President and the Vice-President, the manner of separate election and voting in the parliament ... etc. At first, Makarios' proposals were received with strong protests on the part of the Greek government and some Cypriot intellectuals as they considered them unacceptable and time was inconvenient for them. The most important objection was that the proposals did not consider the reaction of the Turks of Cyprus, who had repeatedly reiterated the illegality of not abiding by the articles of Zurich-London Treaty. This was the Cypriot problematic issue: a treaty that created a crippled republic, but the terms of the treaty had to be maintained. There was a compelling necessity for creating an atmosphere of co-operation and trust between the two communities, which was hard to do, as the factors of separation and contention increased more with time due to external parties who had the real

interest in not solving the problem.

With the murder of John Kennedy on 22/11/1963 and the rise of Lindon Johnson to the seat of American Presidency, the position of the Cypriot government became worse. This encouraged Turkey to reject Makarios's proposals followed by the rejection of Kucuk, Makarios Vice-President. On 20/12/1963, an armed clash between the Turks and Greeks in Cyprus took place; as a result, the Turkish Cypriot forces separated the Turkish sectors from the rest of the regions. They became Turkish quasi-provinces or cantons that were quasi-independent within the Cypriot State. The British forces interferred on 29 December 1963 with the aim of safeguarding the "green lines" between the two communities. With that, the principle of partition and separation was enhanced under the auspices of Rauf Denktash, the leader of Turks, and the support of the Turkish forces present in the island according to the Treaty of Zurich-London. The Turks committed wild acts that terrified the Greeks in these cantons. So, they left their houses and properties, and fled to the Greek sector[3].

2- Turning the Case into an International Affair

A conference of five was held in London from 15 January to 10 February 1964. The British proposed "a peace force" from the NATO led by a British to be responsible for keeping peace and security between the two communities. As to the affairs of Cyprus, a committee composed of the ambassadors of the states participating in this force could be responsible for that. An international mediator approved by Britain, Greece and Turkey would be responsible to find constitutional solutions to the Cypriot problems. The Greek government accepted the proposal, but Makarios rejected it, as he rejected another offer presented by the American Foreign Affairs Undersecretary, George Paul, on 16/2/1964. It was said that Makarios was encouraged to reject

(3) See Youssri Sultan, *op. cit.*
[Greek] Ligknadis, (Athens 1970).
[Greek] Pantazi, (Athens 1971).







Fig. No. (59)



Fig. No. (60)



Fig. No. (61)

the two proposals by the support of Nikita Khrushchev, President of the Soviet Union then. Some Cypriot voices called for resorting to the Soviet Union because it was not possible to expect anything from the West.

Indeed, Khrushchev warned Turkey that its military interference in Cyprus would clash with a Soviet attitude in actual opposition, not only by words. On 5/3/1964, the Security Council resolution No. 5/5575 was issued to urge sending peacekeeping forces to Cyprus. An international mediator, the Finnish diplomat Sakkari Tuomioya, was appointed. On 9 March of the same year, an outbreak of new acts of violence took place between the two communities in Paphos and victims fell from both sides. There clearly appeared in the horizon Turkey's intentions to invade Cyprus with the excuse of safeguarding the Turkish Cypriots. Nothing stopped the Turkish preparations for the invasion except a new resolution issued from the Security Council. However, the Turkish inclination for invasion would eventually be realised after ten years of this date.

Makarios officially proclaimed in April 1964 his objection to Zurich-London Treaty, and established the "National Guards" of ten thousand recruited men. Then he set about making transactions to import arms from Greece, Egypt, the Soviet Union and other friendly countries. Cyprus became a winning card in the game of the great conflict, or what is called in the dictionary of international politics, "the cold war between the Communist East and the Capitalist West". This is the contemporary chain in the long and bitter history of Cyprus, which has been full of suffering since ancient times.

With agreement and co-operation with George Papandreou, contingents of troops from Greece, ten thousand men, were brought into the Island clandestinely together with officers to command and train the "National Guards". On 19-6/1964 after the return of Grivas to Cyprus, he became a commander of the National Guards. This procedure had a great significance as to the nature of the "National Guards" and their function. In the same month, the American

President, Lindon Johnson, sent a warning to Turkey and its P.M., Ismet Inonu, not to interfere in Cyprus, and added: "Turkey should not expect an American aid if the Soviets attacked the Turkish invading forces, to send them away from Cyprus".

At the same time, Johnson appointed the former Foreign Minister, Dean Acheson, an arbitrator, a countcillor and assistant – in an official way – to the international mediator, the Finnish Tomyoya, with the aim of reaching a solution to the Cypriot problem to be satisfactory to Greece and Turkey, the NATO members. Acheson presented a plan for the way out of the problem. Its essence was to maintain the unity of the land of Cyprus and not to partition the land, provided the region of Carpas would be left to Turkey in return for a rent for the period of fifty years, and to set a Turkish military base there. In this plan there was also the statement that six Cypriot governorates would be put under the trusteeship of Turkish agents and that a councillor would be appointed for the Islamic affairs in addition to the Greek delegate. Other terms were laid as providing guarantees for the rights of the Turkish minority, the formation of a joint Turkish-Greek military defensive force with a kind of American representation. The plan also stated the necessity of the return of the Greek Cypriot citizens who had been dismissed from the Turkish territories. They ought to regain their houses and property. According to the plan, the carrying out and the supervision of the procedures are to be undertaken by the U.N.

Since the Greek Cypriots rejected Acheson's plan, it was also rejected by the Greek government, though George Papandreou was more inclined towards it. They all considered it a kind of partition or mixed union, i.e. the union of the Greek community with Greece, and the Turkish community with Turkey. The odd thing was that the Turks rejected the plan even before being familiar with the official Greek attitude. On 8 August 1964, a Turkish act of violence happened at Mansoura in Tillyria region in the north west of Cyprus. With such violence the Turks were perhaps aiming at putting pressure on the Greek Cypriots to accept Acheson's proposal. The answer of the

"national guards" was severe, as they took measures to cancel the isolation of the region from the rest of Cyprus. It was the isolation imposed by the Turks and became an actual fact. Thereupon, the Turkish aircraft arrived on the 8th and the 9th of August and attacked many Cypriot villages. George Papandreou protested and condemned that aggression that was against the national interests of Greece. He blamed Turkey because it acted on its own without seeking the opinion of the Greek government. The Soviet Union declared its support of Cyprus in case of Turkish invasion. In the security council, Greece – who welcomed the attitude of the Soviets – announced that it would also support Cyprus to counter – attack the Turkish aggression if it did not stop at once. This is the accustomed scenario when the Israeli aircraft and forces attack the Western Front, Ghazza and Lebanon.

However, in October 1964, Cyprus renewed its efforts to get arms, including tanks and rockets, from the Soviet Union. Makarios sent many young men to be trained on these weapons in Egypt according to a special agreement between the Cypriot leader and the Egyptian President, Gamal Abd El-Nasser. Between 16-17 October of the same year, the Yugoslav President, Tito, visited Cyprus. This official visit enhanced Makrios's distinguished position in the non-alignment movement. However, the new Soviet President, Leonid Brezhnev differed from his predecessor, Khrushchev, in dealing with the Cypriot problem. This new policy is summarized in forming a Cypriot federal union to combine the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

On 26 March 1965, Gallo Plaza, the international mediator, published his report in which he called for the necessity of putting a new constitution for Cyprus to go ahead of the Treaty of Zurich-London that had become obsolete and had been officially annulled by Makarios in April 1964. Plaza proposed the right of self-determination for the Cypriot people, putting aside the idea of "*Enosis*" or "partition". Turkey was furious and rejected the report. Both Grivas and the Cypriot Minister of Defense, P. Garoufalias, made an alliance against the secret leftist movement ASPIDA, secretly led by the son of the Greek Prime Minister Andrea Papandreou. The political crisis was

escalated following the scandal of the oppression of the secret leftist movement ASPIDA. Garoufalias refused to resign after the discovery of his alliance with the Rightist secret organisation IDEA. So, George Papandreou resigned as a premier on 15 July 1965, and a conservative right wing government was formed in Greece.

The government started to consider imposing the solution of the "partition" of Cyprus, which had been rejected by Papandreou in spite of his difference with Makarios. However, the new government clearly revealed its opposition to Makarios and his views. Orders were given from Athens to the Greek forces in Athens to do their best in order not to allow the arrival of Soviet tanks and rockets to the Island. At the same time, the Turkish Cypriots intensified their acts of violence and killed two leaders of the Progressive Party AKEL, a Turkish Cypriot, Derwis Kavazoghlou, and a Greek Cypriot, Costas Mishaolis. In October of the same year, Makarios sent a letter of good intentions to the Secretary General of the U.N., U Thant, which contained his pledge of maintaining the principal human rights, the release of liberties, and the right of self-determination for all minorities in cultural and other affairs. These proposals facilitated the task of issuing the U.N. General Assembly resolution on 18 December 1965 including most of the items stated in the report of the Mediator, Plaza.

The answer of the Greek government was that it restored Grivas to the lines of its armed forces in February 1966 with the aim of tightening the control on the Cypriot forces. The Greek government also declared its desire to realise "*Enosis*" even with a sector of Cyprus but with the acceptance of Turkey. It preferred that solution to paying a heavy price for achieving "*Enosis*" in spite of Turkey. Thus, the Greek government, along with some Cypriots and the support of Grivas, spread the rumour that it was Makarios who betrayed the concept of union. On 17 December 1966, Greece and Turkey signed in Paris a "protocol of understanding" including a call for a dialogue between the two countries for solving all the problems between them, including Cyprus of course. Turkey, then, requested to have a military

base in Cyprus, and called for the disarmament of the Island[4].

3- "Get rid of Makarios"

The thread started to be knitted in successive attempts to get rid of Makarios with an offer presented to him by the Greek Prime Minister, Stephanopoulos in 1966, to be the Patriarch of Alexandria. When Makarios declined the offer, conspiracies were attempted to overthrow him in a military coup and to get rid of him. Makarios was aware of these intentions, therefore, he sought to get a secret Czech arms deal- as Egypt did in the fifties – for a private force for his protection, after losing trust and control in the National Guards who were inclined to be antagonistic towards him as they were influenced by the instructions of the Greek Cypriots among them. When learning of the deal, Stephanopoulos demanded the arms to be delivered to the National Guards. Turkey intervened on 12 December 1966 and forced Cyprus and Greece – the two fighting powers – to deliver the Czech weapons to the United Nations forces.

However, from the storehouses of these forces, the Cypriot leftist Minister for Home Affairs was able to sneak out most of the weapons for the interest of his armed men and his private guards. This scandal contributed to the downfall of the Greek government on 21 December 1966. Makarios then visited Athens on 6 February 1967 and was able to have an agreement with the new government on the following broad lines:

- The ultimate goal of the two parties (Cyprus and Greece) is "*Enosis*", but without great concessions or sacrifices on the part of Greece.
- Cyprus is an independent country and will remain so until the "*Enosis*" is achieved.

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(4) R.A. Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict: 1963-1971*, Ed. By J. H. Bater and R. Preston, pub. By the Dept. of Geography, Faculty of Environmental Studies, Univ. of Waterloo, 1976.

With the coming of Panayotis Kanellopoulos into power in Athens on 3rd of April 1967, new beams of hope appeared in the horizon for the resolving of the crisis in the Cypriot-Greek relations. The reason was because Kanellopoulos was a close friend of Makarios. However, this born hope was soon killed due to the coup by the military junta that took place in Athens on 21 April 1967.

At this point, years of decline followed. After the ominous *coup d'etat*, the Leftist Democratic Wing started the formation of a committee against dictatorship. The committee held its first meeting in Apollo Theatre in Nicosia. In the meantime, the official Greek media-whether the press, radio, or television – launched a strong campaign against the Cypriots opposing the "*Enosis*", alluding openly or by implication to the names of the closest people to Makarios. After long waiting, Makarios inadvertently sent a telegram supporting the new regime on 20 may 1967, i.e. after a month of the *coup d'etat*. Then the preparations to carry on the formerly agreed upon dialogue between Turkey and Greece started in Paris on 7/12/1966. The demand of the removal of the betrayer of *Enosis*, i.e. Makarios, came to the forefront as it was the slogan raised in Greece. But the visit paid by George Papadopoulos - the Minister in the Ministry of Kollias at the time – to Cyprus on 9 August 1967 broke the ice. He announced after his return to Athens that he "did not find opponents to *Enosis* in Cyprus". That minister had undertaken his military service as an officer in Cyprus where he stayed for a long time. His visit aimed at persuading Makarios to be patient with the acts of violence erupting from the Turkish cantons in July 1967. They were operations ordered by Ankara to test the new autocratic government in Athens. On the 5th of July 1967, the "Union Cypriot Front" (PEM), led by some enthusiasts in Athens to the junta from the Cypriots and the Greeks, was established.

The expected meeting between Kollias and Papadopoulos and their assistants on the one side, and Suleyman Demirel and his aids in the Turkish government on the other side, took place on 9-10 September 1967 in Evros. The Greek side proposed the *Enosis* and

allowing a military base for Turkey in Cyprus, while providing the necessary guarantees for Turkish Cypriots and giving up part of Thrace. Demirel rejected the Greek offers; Evros meeting ended in a scandal because the Greek delegates disclosed to the Turks some severe measures against the communists in the Balkans. Demirel gave the information in turn to the Soviets in a visit he paid to Moscow shortly after the Evros meeting. In spite of that, the Turkish-Greek dialogue continued on 7 November 1967 strongly objected by Makarios. On 31 October, the exiled Turkish leader, Rauf Denktash, was arrested while secretly going to Cyprus, so he was sent back to Turkey on 12 November.

A few days later, the crisis of Kofinou occurred. Kofinou was a small village in the middle way between Nicosia and Limassol. The Turks had turned it into a pure Turkish province that Grivas decided to expurgate it. The ultimate result of this crisis was the withdrawal of the Greek force Papandreou had sent in 1964. It returned to Greece in January 1968. In facing the Turkish threats of the invasion of Cyprus, the United States sent the former vice-secretary of State for Defense, Cyrus Vance, to settle the crisis and calm down the nerves.

Indeed, Vance realised the required operture after arduous attempts and shuttle talks between Athens and Ankara and the corridors of the U.N. Grivas himself was withdrawn not only from Kofinou but also from the whole of Cyprus on 19 November and was accused by the Athenian junta government of trespassing the orders issued to him. It was agreed on dismantling the military bases in the south of Turkey, the increase in the role of U.N. forces, the disarmament of the contending powers in Cyprus, and even the disarmament of the illegal armed groups. Naturally and as expected, Makarios objected because it meant dissolving the National Guards, the only remaining force to defend Cyprus and its legal President after withdrawing the Greek forces.

The Turkish Cypriots were exasperated with long waiting for the expected Turkish invasion and were not satisfied with what they

realised in December 1967, i.e. the establishment of "a temporary Turkish-Cypriot administration" with the presence of two experts from Turkey in addition. The Greek Cypriots fell into despondency and many of them rushed to emigrate, mostly to Canada. Intensive efforts were exerted to stop people from emigrating. Then a new hope appeared in the horizon of a solution and a reconciliation. Makarios clearly stated on 24 November 1967 that they ought to seek what was possible to realise (*ephikton*), i.e. independence and internal Cypriot union, and should not seek what is desired (*efktaion*), but impossible, i.e. the union between Cyprus and Greece.

The elections for Cypriot presidency on 25 February 1968 aimed at supporting that new line in the policy followed by Makarios, likewise shedding light on Cypriot democracy in contrast to the Athenian autocracy at that time. Makarios won 95.45% of the votes. Here the attack on Makarios because of *Enosis* was very strong, led by Anthymos, the bishop of Citium who had been the closest friend of Makarios before.

Those people forgot, or pretended to forget that the withdrawal of the Greek forces from Cyprus had led to an imbalance of power in the Island for the benefit of the Turkish community. Thus the request of "*Enosis*" boasted by the Greek and Cypriot bidders became a dream and a mirage. As to the proclamation of the "temporary Turkish-Cypriot administration" on 29 December 1967, it was like a heavy blow to the interior union of the Island and a preamble to the partition. Makarios's reaction came on 17 January 1968 by declaring that the Greek-Cypriot government would not use force to put an end to this administration, but at the same time would not allow them to move outside the Turkish quarters in Nicosia. All that weakened the case for "*Enosis*" and even the demand for independence.

What made matters worse was the unsuccessful *coup d'etat* on 13/12/1967, and the escape of King Constantine, which supported the junta government, who were actually a group of military people who did not understand anything in politics except contriving plots and

realising their own personal aims. This corrupt system in Athens was not promising for the cause of Cyprus, or for the Greek interests.

What hastened to undertake the Cypriot elections for presidency on 25 February 1968, was that on the 25th of January of the same year, an ecclesiastic council was held attended by Kyprianou of Kyrenia, Anthymos of Citium, and Gnadios of Paphos. They all decided to ask for Makarios's resignation. When he won the elections with a high majority (Kucuk was re-elected as vice-President) the outside pressures from Greece and the NATO started to urge the holding of internal negotiations between Greece and Turkish Cypriots. The Secretary General of the U.N., U Thant, adopted this idea, and Makarios responded to it and announced that he recognised the Turkish Cypriots as a community and not just a minority. He further promised to offer them important concessions and privileges if they reached a final solution to the problem. Makarios then issued a pardon for Denktash to return from his exile to Cyprus on 13/4/1968. Then, on the 8th of May of the same year, Makarios lifted the barriers that limited the movement of the Turks inside their quarters, in the hope of restoring the communication between the two communities of Cyprus. However, the Turkish Cypriots insisted on isolation and separation, and did not permit Greek Cypriots to approach their villages, except for the joint ones.

In June 1968, talks between Glavkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash started. The former represented the Greek community and he was the parliament president; and the latter was the president of the Turkish-Cypriot group in the parliament. (Now both of them are in the position of presidency; the first is the President of the Republic of Cyprus, and the second is the President of the declared political entity accepted only by Turkey.) The talks were accompanied with a general atmosphere of optimism.

In the autumn of 1968, there was an attempt in Athens to assassinate Papadopoulos by Alekos Panagoulis. The latter was arrested after the abortion of his attempt and all the threads of the

conspiracy were disclosed. It was found that the Cypriot Minister of Interior and Defence, Geor Gatzis and other close friends of Makarios were involved in that unsuccessful attempt. In fact, Makarios's Minister, Geor Gatzis, had been one of the most sincere friends and assistants, but eventually he turned against him and became one of his bitter enemies. He even intrigued with the "Union National Front", a Right wing group, against Makarios. It was a front supported by the Athenian junta government and aimed through terrorism to cleanse Cyprus of the opponents to the "*Enosis*", and Makarios was at the top of the list. They got their orders directly from the junta in Athens, and on 10 August 1969, this front demanded ending the discussions with the Turks of Cyprus and the resignation of Glavkos Clerides. They made use of Makarios's mildness and leniency, though he was doing his best to avoid a Greek Cypriot civil war. In the end, there was a rift in this front, as among the colonels in Athens, and on 28 August 1969, Makarios announced it was an illegal and forbidden organisation.

On Sunday the 8th of March 1970, a group belonging to the "United National Front" opened fire on Makarios's Helicopter as soon as it set off from Nicosia on its way to Machairas monastery where he intended to perform funeral rites for Gregoris Afxentiou. Makarios was miraculously saved and took the wounded pilot, Z. Papadoyiannis to the hospital and then continued his journey to the monastery in a car. He performed the rites as previously planned. Though the President of the Republic of Cyprus came out safely of that treacherous intrigue, the clouds of bad omen and the foreshadowing of danger gathered round his destiny and that of the whole of Cyprus. In addition, the government in Athens acted in a way to indicate that he was a *persona non grata*, which conformed to the attitude of the United States and the circles of the NATO League. They were all behaving according to the inspiration and the strategy of the ascending star in the sky of international politics, Henry Kessinger, the architect of American politics in the seventies. However, the aims Kessinger scored for this policy were old and familiar. These were the domination of the Middle East and the sources of oil. They all perceived that Makarios was an obstruction that should be removed; for the existence of a

united Cyprus presided by Makarios represented a danger for the security of Israel, the thorn of imperialism in the heart of the Arab World and the guardian of the sources of oil for the interest of the West. For this reason Cypriots believe that the attempt to assassinate Makarios was plotted by the agency of the CIA and through the recommendation of Kessinger. Therefore, they decided to physically liquidate Makarios. This was attempted by the Greek Cypriot Right Wing, approved by the government of Athens.

By arresting the four involved in the assassination attempt, it was realised that they were Geor Gatzis's men and they were working for the Greek colonel D. Papapostolou and Athanasios Poulitsas, who was responsible for guarding Makarios. All of them had strong relationship with the United National Front, getting their orders from the NATO and the CIA, passing through the corridors of Athenian government of colonels (junta).

The assassination plot was a complete conspiracy under the name of "*Hermes*" and aimed at seizing power. Geor Gatzis himself was assassinated in a field on the road between Nicosia and Famagusta on 15 March 1970, i.e. about a week after the abortive attempt. It seems that the conspirators who attempted to take Makarios's life were the ones who killed Gatzis, out of fear he would disclose their plans as he was at the head of the conspirators[5].

In June 1971, Makarios visited the Soviet Union. After long

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(5) [Greek] Vrachimis, (Athens 1979).
About Makarios, the legend and the truth, see:
[Greek] Pavlides (Nicosia 1992)
[Greek] *Idem* Nicosia 1981, vol. A-C)
In the three volumes, the writer deals with the different stages in the life of Makarios III, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, since his birth until his death.
P.N. Vanezis, *Makarios: Pragmatism versus Idealism*, London: Abelard Schuman, 974.
Idem, *Makarios: Faith and Power*, London: Abelard Schuman, 1971.

discussions, a joint declaration was issued in which the Soviets supported the total independence of the Republic of Cyprus and the complete sovereignty on its territories, and proposed solving the existing problem according to the Charter of the U.N. and its resolutions. In the meantime, and in the frame of the meeting of the NATO states in Lisbon from 3-4 June 1971, the Greek and Turkish Ministers for Foreign Affairs agreed upon joint co-operation to find a solution to the Cypriot problem in the case of failure or stopping the negotiations between the two Cypriot sides.

These two events were contemporaneous, but the Cypriot press gave more attention to Makarios's Soviet visit. On the 9th of June 1971, a new element appeared, represented in a strange request from the junta government in Athens. On the basis of the agreement of the two Foreign Ministers, the Greek and Turkish in Lisbon, the junta government asked the Cypriot government to present some important concessions to the Turkish side almost without a return. When Makarios declined the request, contention broke out between Athens and Nicosia, particularly when the junta insisted on inventing the position of the "minister of Turkish affairs" in the Cypriot government. They even threatened to take very severe measures against Cyprus if it did not accept. Makarios perceived in that Greek intervention a belittling of the independence of Cyprus, in addition, the proposed position would enhance the principle of partition. Thereupon, Makarios declined the request.

To make mattes worse, Grivas secretly arrived in Cyprus on 31/8/1971, only three days before Makarios's visit to Athens for negotiations. Grivas came to establish a new united national front. Thus EOKA-B, whose men were mostly the followers of the junta in Athens, was born. Still, one of Grivas's aids, Karousos, attempted to bring Makarios and Grivas closer, but it was in vain.

A crisis -similar to the 1966 crisis- occurred, when the junta asked Makarios to deliver the Czech arms deal to the National Guards instead of the emergency forces Makarios established instead of the

National Guards that became dangerous for the government. Actually, EOKA-B was the front that discovered the deal and informed Greece. The Greek councillor presented a memorandum to Makarios in which the junta were asking for a Cypriot cabinet reshuffle in order to form a united national government. On 11 February, Makarios and Grivas were asked to disappear from the entire political scene. The Greek councillor, Panayaotakos, departed on 16th February, and the American ambassador warned Makarios of a *coup d'etat*.

On 2nd of March 1972, the three bishops repeated their old demand of the resignation of Makarios from the seat of presidency, and instead of the seat in the patriarchy of Alexandria, the bishop of Athens, Hieronymos, promised him an ecumenical seat. On 3rd of March a massive demonstration (200 thousand) broke out in Nicosia asking Makarios to go back in his determination to respond to the demand of the bishops. On 6 March 1972, the Soviet Union warned the Greek government that it would interfere in the case of the overthrow of Makarios. To maintain national unity, Makarios gave up the arms deal for the peacekeeping forces in Cyprus. Turkey was the great gainer in this account. It had the same opinion as the autocratic government in Athens. They both considered Makarios the main obstacle in the way to peaceful solution for the Cypriot problem. Both sought his absence from the political scene in one way or another.

Cyprus was able to make up for the lost Czech arms deal by getting modern arms from Syria through the PLO, presided by Yasser Arafat who had a special relationship with Makarios. The arms reached Cyprus on 14 March 1972, and Makarios sent a message to Papadopoulos saying that the struggle for *Enosis* could succeed by the help of Athens and its encouragement to the Cypriots who could not accept any solution against the Cypriot interest to satisfy any party even if it were Athens itself. On 19th of March, Makarios turned down again the ecclesiastic metropolitan demand of resignation. He gathered the bishops and accused them of treachery and intrigue, asserting that his position as a president was not against the fundamentals of religion and it did not mean his negligence of the ecclesiastical tasks. He added

that his resignation would certainly lead to partition and catastrophe.

On 26 March 1972, a meeting between Makarios and Grivas was aborted, for the latter asked for the resignation of Makarios and the formation of a new cabinet that would include some of his men. Grivas put aside a proposed Greek solution which was the "dual union", i.e. the union of the Greek sector of Cyprus with Greece, and its Turkish counterpart with Turkey. So, it was natural for Makarios to reject the conditions of Grivas. The meeting was over without achieving anything at all. The political controversy rose in Cyprus. Makarios exchanged messages with the three metropolitan bishops in a hot dialogue. The controversy included university professors and multi cultural implications from Cyprus and Greece.

On 16/6/1972, a new Cypriot cabinet was formed as a new Foreign Minister replaced Spyrou Kyrianou who had occupied this position since 1960. Makarios was attempting to allay the differences with Athens' junta. However, intrigues continued to be woven round Makarios. So, *Apollo*'s plot was put on 17/9/1972 under the supervision of Grivas himself, while Greek officers attempted to carry it out. The planned *coup* was going to cover the whole of Cyprus except Kyrenia on the basis that it would be left to Turkey in the case of the success of the plan and the carrying out of partitioning the Island. The plan included a close co-ordination between EOKA-B and the National Guards. The conspirators thought the Turkish side and the British base would stick to neutrality. The news of the conspiracy sneaked out with rumours saying that Turkey plotted to take over the whole of Kyrenia in the case of the overthrow of Makarios. Lagacos, the Greek ambassador in Cyprus, advised the Cypriot bishops of resolving their differences, but no one responded to him. On 8/12/1972, they officially "blamed" Makarios, at the same time, EOKA-B started practising acts of violence and terrorist activities. In addition, the NATO circles disclosed its support to the bishops' attitude.

In reaction to all these intrigues, Makarios could not but insist on his stance, proclaiming presidency elections on 18 February 1973

and opening the door for nominations. When it was closed on 8 February, none of Makarios's rivals was nominated. That was announced in front of a massive crowd of people (200 thousand). So, the election of Makarios was by proclamation and the accompanying demonstrations were like a public referendum. However, in the same month Grivas accomplished weaving *Apollo*'s plot and fixed July 1973 for carrying it out. In fact, intrigues and conspiracies to overthrow the government went on, some of them aimed at Makarios's life, while others aimed at causing trouble, all at the expense of the future of Cyprus.

On 7th of March 1973, the three bishops announced the holding up of an ecumenical council in Limassol with the aim of stripping Makarios of his ecclesiastical garb. Makarios's answer was firm and severe. He proclaimed undertaking elections to replace those bishops whom he removed from their positions from 2/5/1973. On 14/7/1973, a wider council was held attended by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, in addition to fourteen bishops from three patriarchies. The council took the resolution of removing and stripping the three bishops of their positions, as they were accused of dissension from the church, intriguing, and committing illegal acts. At once Makarios declared the undertaking of ecclesiastical elections after introducing some amendments in a number of bishoprics and in their tasks.

Papadopoulos became president of the Republic of Greece on 19/8/1973, and he declared his agreement to the stripping procedures, the removal of the three bishops. The reason for that new Greek attitude was that the junta government had withdrawn its support to these bishops after getting very close to Grivas. The latter was known to be more royal than the king, i.e. he was more enthusiastic to the deposed king. Therefore, he dissented from the Athenian junta government who abolished royalty on 29/7/1973. Greece stopped its monetary and non-monetary assistance to Grivas and condemned his terrorist activities. It was said that Grivas asked the American CIA and the Israeli MOSAD to finance him, which they bounteously did. The violent acts committed by EOKA-B reached the extent of

kidnapping the Minister for Justice, Chr. Vakes, and attempting to assassinate Makarios on 4 August and 7 October 1973. Makarios had to urge the emergency force and police forces as well as other governmental security forces to severely respond to these processes. So, EOKA-B was encircled and dismantled. Some leaders as Stavros Stavrou, known as Syros, were arrested.

Then, the new Prime Minister, Spyros Markezines announced his support of direct negotiations with Turkey and holding reconciliation between the followers of Makarios and Grivas' men, while turning EOKA-B to a declared political organisation. This referred to any party established since 20/11/1971 in the "National Disciplinary Committee of the Struggle for *Enosis*" (ESEA), presided by the judge G. Vasiliades. However, Grivas insisted on armed struggle, and asked his old friend, Markezines, for financial and moral assistance, announcing that his men (500-600) would be able to solve the Cypriot problem by themselves.

On 6/11/1973, Makarios was on his way to visit Ethiopia, Malta, and Libya, so he held a meeting with Markezines and they agreed to activate the talks between the two Cypriot communities. This had actually started on 6 June 1972 after an initiative from Kurt Waldheim the Secretary General of the U.N. But the strong contention and difference within the Greek community led to more Turkish obstinacy and their persistence on the unacceptable attitudes. Greece expressed its conviction that the Turkish Cypriot request of an independent administration did not contradict the establishment of an independent and united Cypriot state.

Then the fall of Papadopoulos came on 25/11/1973, after tanks broke into the Polytechnical College (*Polytechnion*) while students and other common people were seeking protection within the gates. A bloody battle ensued. Thereupon, Dem. Ioannides took this chance and controlled power. He was another colonel, more attached to the circles of the NATO and the United States. Ioannides sent ten million drachmas to Grivas every month and sent him many weapons.

However, it was all in vain because Grivas died on 27 January 1974.

After Grivas, EOKA-B was commanded by G. Carosos who declared a truce. Makarios answered this initiative by a general pardon on all the men of Grivas. When Carosos expressed his desire that EOKA-B would turn into a political party, Ioannides objected, and he also insisted on burying Grivas in Limassol to be a symbol of the resistance and opposition to Makarios. EOKA-B resumed its acts of violence and terrorism, its men announced its disobedience to Carosos who left Cyprus on 28 February 1974, under the pressure of the junta government in Athens. Makarios announced on 25/4/1974, the prohibition of EOKA-B activities as an illegal organisation. It was through Pantelakis Pantazes and a great public support that the Cypriot forces set about the liquidating of the pockets of this organisation[6].

4- Turkish Invasion and The Deadlock

The disintegration of the interior front in the Greek Cypriot community and the state of inquiry encouraged the other side to be severe. While negotiations between the two parties were in steady development and about to reach tangible results in the construction of the Cypriot state and the sharing of powers and positions, suddenly these negotiations were hung up. In January 1974, Bulent Ecevit became the Turkish Prime Minister, and announced his desire to reach a comprehensive settlement with Greece to cover all problems between the two countries. Cyprus was at the top of these problems. Furthermore, he announced that "federation" was the only plausible solution to the Cypriot problem, and reiterated the Turkish demands in the Aegean Sea. But Makarios rejected the proposals of Ecevit, though he acknowledged that "federalism was not totally excluded. That leftist Ecevit chose the convenient time to announce his proposals, exploiting the interior conflict and the Greek degeneration that

(6) Concerning EOKA-B and Makarios attitude, see:
[Greek] Kranidiotis, vol. B, pp. 139 ff, 331 ff.

portended the coming of a new civil war.

At the time the two expert councillors supervising the talks between the two Cypriot sides, the Greek Dekleris and the Turkish Aldikatci, declared that they reached solutions to most of the principal problems and had only to put the final wording of the agreement, a *coup d'etat* took place in Athens. Everything was stopped as a result.

On 7 May 1974, Henry Kessinger, the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, met with his Soviet counterpart, Andrei Gromyko, in Cyprus to discuss the Middle East crisis after the victory of Egypt and Syria in the October war of 1973. However, the meeting did not offer anything new for Cyprus, except Kessinger's persistence of getting rid of that "red bishop". So, the visit supported the position of Makarios in the Soviet Union, who visited China from 7-24 of May 1974. The autocratic Greek government agreed with Kessinger on the necessity of getting rid of that "red bishop". Makarios, thereupon, sent an open message to the President of the Republic of Greece, Phaidon Gizikis, accusing the Greek government of practicing illegal activities in Cyprus, of interfering in the internal affairs of its government, and financing the scattered remnants of the terrorist EOKA-B. He added that he was not a governor appointed by the Greek government in Athens, but the President of the Republic of Cyprus according to a referendum. On 9 July 1974, the junta government in Athens gave orders for a *coup* in Cyprus, and on 11 July, the Greek ambassador in Cyprus, Lagacos, was called back to Athens, accompanied by the commander of the NATIONAL Guards, Denisses. During that time, the new American ambassador in Cyprus, Roger Davis declared that the American government considered Makarios "a first rate statesman in the world !"

The plot to overthrow the government bore the name "Aphrodite 3". On 15/7/1974, the presidency palace in Nicosia was attacked by armoured cars of the National Guards. Makarios was able to flee to Kykkos monastery and from there to Paphos. The revolutionaries were able to control the Radio station (RIK) and all public utilities.

However, Makarios addressed the people from a local station in Paphos. Then an armed boat attacked Makarios place in the Metropolitan church in Paphos. Eventually, nothing rescued him except a British military aircraft which took him to London, and from there he flew to New York. On 19 July, Makarios addressed the Security Council and asked the Greek government to call back the Greek officers in the National Guards and to put an end to the critical situation, so that matters could return to the normal situation before the *coup*. The Turkish Cypriot forces did not interfere. Rauf Denktash announced that the whole matter concerned the Greek community. That delusion was intentional because the Turkish Prime Minister, Ecevit, had flown to London on 17 July and asked for a joint Turkish-British intervention, in application to article No. 3 of the safeguarding agreement. The British refused to carry out the Turkish demand, so Turkey set about carrying out the plan of invasion by itself. The plan had been already prepared.

The Turkish invasion started on the morning of Saturday, the 20th of July 1974. In the last moments before the invasion, the United States attempted in vain to stop it. The main aim of the American intervention was to prevent the Turkish-Greek clash. The Turks, however, did not encounter much resistance because the divisions and troubles in the Greek camp had exhausted them. Turkey occupied the whole region of Kyrenia. What is tragi-comic is that until this very moment the Athenian junta government has not taken the Turkish invasion seriously and said it was a transient training military manoeuver. As to the Cypriot military statements, they announced the defeat of the invaders! How similar was the Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 20 July 1974 to the 5th of June 1967 setback for Egypt and the Arab world!

Eventually, the two autocratic governments, the Athenian and the Cypriot, brought about by the *coup*, were overthrown. In Athens Karamalis took over, and in Nicosia it was Glavkos Clerides who led the government. Constitutional talks started in Geneva to discuss the future of Cyprus, at the time the Turkish forces were making use of

the element of time to expand the occupied territory[7].

On 20 July 1974, the Security Council resolution No 373 was issued. It stated the following:

> **After examining the General Security's report concerning the late incidents that took place in Cyprus, and after listening to the declarations given by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, and the statements given by the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and other member countries in the Council- it (the Council) expresses its deep sorrow for the outbreak of violence and the shedding of blood, still spelt. It expresses its deep worry for the present situation that has become a great menace for international peace and security, threatening to explode in the group ,region of east the Mediterranean.**

It also expresses its deep anxiety concerning the necessity of the constitutional reconstruction of the Republic of Cyprus, which was the construction approved and guaranteed by international agreements. Therefore, according to article 24 of the Charter:

(1) All states are requested to respect the sovereignty, the independence of Cyprus, and its regional unity.

(2) All parties involved in current fighting are requested to stop firing entirely, as a first measure. It also calls upon all states to adhere to moderation as much as possible, and avoid performing any act that can lead to more complications in Cyprus.

(3) It requests putting an end to direct foreign intervention in the Republic of Cyprus. This intervention is considered a contradiction to the first article of this document.

(4) It requests the immediate withdrawal of all foreign militants

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(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 536 ff.

present in Cyprus, including the militants that bishop Makarios had asked for their withdrawal in his letter dated 2 July 1974.

(5) It requests from Greece and Turkey as well as U.K. (Great Britain and North Ireland) to begin negotiations without any delay, with the aim of restoring peace to the region and the return of constitutional government to Cyprus. The Secretary General should be informed about what is accomplished in that matter.

(6) It is requested of all the parties to have total co-operation with the U.N. forces assigned to keep peace in Cyprus in a way that allows the Island to practise its assigned tasks.

(7) It resolves to work towards the steady follow-up of events in Cyprus. It is also requested of the Secretary General to present a report whenever there was a necessity, with the aim of approving of the new measures by the council, which could lead to establish peaceful circumstances in Cyprus as soon as possible[(8)].

Following that, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Greece, U.K. (Great Britain and North Ireland), and Turkey met in Geneva from 25-30 July 1974 for negotiations. They acknowledged the necessity to begin taking the urgent measures for the preparation and the restoration of the situation in the Republic of Cyprus to its normal state and on permanent bases. That should be undertaken in a reasonable time and according to the international agreements signed in Nicosia on 16 August 1960 and the resolution No 353, issued from the Security Council of the U.N. The Ministers agreed on the necessity to take some direct measures first. The three Foreign Ministers declared that until the situation was settled, the regions of the Cypriot Republic dominated by the enemy army (i.e. Turkey) on 30 July 1974 at 10 o'clock p.m. (Geneva time) should not be more expanded. Moreover, the Ministers called upon all forces, including the irregular

(8) See: [Arabic] Journal of *International Politics (As-Siassa Al-Dawleyya)* No 38 (October 1974), pp. 252-253.

ones, to stop any antagonistic or aggressive activities.

The three Foreign Ministers decided the immediate undertaking of the following measures:

(a) The security zone which will be decided by the represen-tatives of Greece, United Kingdom and Turkey, in consultation with the U.N. forces assigned to keep peace in Cyprus (UNFICYP), has to apply to all occupied regions by the Turkish armed forces according to the time indicated, otherwise no other forces will be admitted into these regions except the U.N. forces. The U.N. forces will supervise the carrying out of these instructions. And until vast areas and the nature of the security region are decided, no forces will be admitted in the region between the two antagonistic military forces.

(b) The Greek or the Cypriot forces should withdraw from all the Turkish pockets it has occupied and the U.N. security forces will continue its protection of these pockets which will maintain the previous security arrangements. As to the other Turkish pockets outside the region dominated by the Turkish armed forces, they will remain under the protection of the security region of the U.N. forces. It will be able to keep its own forces concerning police and security.

(c) The international security forces will ensure security and the police force in the mixed villages.

(d) In the nearest possible chance, the exchange of military and civil individuals taken as a result of armed clashes are to be undertaken or they are to be released under the supervision of the international committee of the Red Cross.

The three Foreign Ministers agreed on the necessity of implementing the resolution No 353 issued from the Security Council in the nearest possible opportunity because it was in the framework of a permanent and just settlement which is accepted from all concerned parties. Until peace, security and mutual trust are settled in the

Cypriot Republic, measures have to be taken to lead to gradual reduction of the size of military forces and the amount of weapons and provisions ... etc. of the war equipment in the Republic of Cyprus.

The three Foreign Ministers, totally aware of their responsibilities concerning the maintenance of the independence of the Republic of Cyprus, its regional unity and security, agreed that negotiations should start in the nearest opportunity according to resolution No 353 issued from the Security Council aiming to ensure:

a. The restoration of peace to the region.

b. The restoration of constitutional government to Cyprus.

In order to achieve that, the Ministers agreed on the necessity of starting talks on 8 August 1974 in Geneva. They also agreed that representatives of the two communities, the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots, should participate at an ealry stage in the talks undertaken about the constitution.

Among the constitutional issues to be discussed, the question of instant returning to the constitutional legitimacy should be included, provided the vice-president would be responsible for the tasks stated in the 1960 constitution. The Ministers noticed that there were actually two independent administrations in the Republic of Cyprus; the first pertaining to the Greek Cypriot community, while the other pertaining to the Turkish Cypriot.

Without affecting the results that could be concluded from that situation, the Foreign Ministers agreed upon studying the problems of the presence of these two administrations during their following meeting. They further agreed to report to the Secretary General of the U.N. about the contents of the current declaration and of inviting the U.N. to take convenient measures in the light of that declaration. They also proclaimed their belief of the necessity of the co-operation of all concerned parties in the Republic of Cyprus in a comprehensive way

in implementing the articles of the declaration[9].

A new resolution was issued from the Security Council on 16 August 1974, stating the following:

(1) Out of the anxiety due to the resumption of acts of violence and shedding blood, the Security Council strongly condemns the parties' non-adherence to the Security Council's resolution No. 357, issued in 1974. It reminds the parties of resolutions Nos. 353, 354, 355, and 357 for the year 1974.

(2) The Council declares its persistence on the necessity that all parties completely implement the referred to resolutions and the necessity of immediate implementation of the cease-fire.

The U.N. resolution No. 353, issued on 20 July 1974 includes, in addition of the cease-fire order, a paragraph requesting all states to respect the sovereignty and independence of Cyprus and the unity of its territories. It also demands the immediate withdrawal of all foreign militants from the territories of the Republic of Cyprus. Those who were present according to international agreements are excluded[10].

After the 1974 invasion however, the Cypriot Turks acted from the position of power. When they went to Geneva on 25 July 1974 for negotiations with the Greek Cypriot side, they attempted to impose

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(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Ibid.* Concerning the role of the U.N. in general in the Cypriot problem, see:
G. St. Kaloudis, "The Role of the U.N. in Cyprus from 1964 to 1979", Dissertation, Univ. of Kansas USA 1983.
D.S. Constantopoulos, "The Turkish Invasion from the Aspects of International Law", Trans. From *the German Yearbook of International Law*, XXI 1978.
Chr. Ecomomides, *The Problem of Cyprus. The Territorial Aspect: The Anatolian Settlers and the U.N. Secretary General Initiative*, Nicosia, 1983.
Savvas Loizides, *The Cyprus Question and the Law of the United Nations*, Nicosia, 1954.
A.N. Papadopoulos, *Aspects Juridiques et Politiques de l'action des Natikons Uries a Chypre*, Nicosia, 1970.

their terms conforming to what was actual concerning the territories. But the U.N. resolution delegated the three guaranteeing countries (Britain, Greece and Turkey) to restore the constitutional government to Cyprus. So, the matter became then in the hands of the three countries – after it had gone out of the hands of Cyprus. These countries could not act according to actual circumstances created by invasion. It was natural for the negotiations to start with talks about that new Turkish entity and the possibility of unifying it with the Greek side in a federal state.

So, from 25-30 July, negotiations were excluded to imposing the truce on the whole Island. A new round of talks about the new constitution with the participation of the two Cypriot sides was announced. It was decided to withdraw the National Guards from the Turkish enclaves and to put a dividing line between fighters. The second round of talks was on the 8th of August and continued until the 13th.

However, it failed because the Turkish demands were not acceptable as they were based on the system of the independent Turkish "cantons", protected by Turkish forces to be secured by safe entrances and exits. It means that the Turks were demanding two independent entities, a Turkish and a Greek, combined by a federal unity. The inflexity of the Turks reached the extent that the Turkish Foreign Minister, Gunesh, refused to give a chance to the Greek side of 36 hours for consultations with the government. On the break of the 13th of August, the British Foreign Minister, Callahan, announced that the talks were suspended. On the morning of the following day, Turkey resumed its invasion of Cyprus with a new wave of attack and expansion.

They were met with no resistance and the invasion ended with occupying 37% of the area of the Cypriot Island. It included Kyrenia and the third area of Nicosia, the part containing Morfu, Kytheria and others. The Turks also took more than half of Famagusta including Carpas peninsula and most of Mesaoria plain, i.e. 70% of the most

fertile land of Cyprus, and most important from the point of industry and tourism.

With great agony, Caramanlis said that he could do nothing as Cyprus is "far from Greece". It is a fact repeated throughout the ages, which summarises the tragedy of Cyprus in its relation with Greece. Within a month, about two hundred thousand Greek Cypriots had to leave their houses and property in the occupied part, after passing through many forms of terrorism and persecution at the hands of the Turks. About thirty or forty thousand Greek Cypriots had to emigrate, leaving their homeland for Greece, Britain, Australia and other places. Thousands of Greek Cypriots were taken as captives by the invading Turkish forces, and were not released except through exchanging them with Turkish Cypriots living in the southern part. The aim was to enhance the partition. As to the casualities, they were thousands. Their exact number is not known; for about 1620 are lost and their fate is not known yet.

As to the Greek Cypriots who insisted on staying in their houses and farms in the occupied part in spite of all Turkish terrifying pressure, they are in steady decrease and most of them live in Rizokarpaso, Agia Triada and Ialussa. The cruelty of the Turkish treatment reached the extent that these citizens do not get any service like education and medical treatment. They are deprived of the simplest human rights as performing their religious rites, in addition to the repeated attacks on them. They confiscated their property to be distributed on the Turkish soldiers brought by thousands from Asia Minor and given the Turkish Cypriot citizens. Moreover, they actually brought about fifty thousand Turks to Cyprus to alter the demographic structure of the Island. They are still committing many illegal acts and measures to make the Greek milieu surpass the assets of Greek Cypriot civilization in the occupied part.

The rounds of talks between the two Cypriot sides were repeated

throughout 1974/1975[11]. Jimmy Carter, the American Democratic nominee, in his election campaign promised the American voters of Greek origin to solve the Cypriot problem. After winning the election, his agent, Clark Cliford, was able to persuade Makarios to hold a meeting with Rauf Denktash on 27 January 1977 in the presence of the deputy of the Secretary General of the U.N., Perez de Cuellar, with the aim of studying the possibility of resuming dialogue between the two sides. The meeting was repeated on 12 February with the presence of the U.N. Secretary General himself, Kurt Waldheim. It was agreed to resume negotiations between the two sides after one month in Vienna, based on the general principles agreed upon by the two parties. The principles are:

(1) Cyprus is one independent country, i.e. a non-aligned federal state.

(2) The problem of territories taken by each party is to be discussed on the basis of production, the economic aspects and rights of property.

(3) The federal system and the dual formation of the Cypriot community are matters to be discussed to solve the problems of the Turkish party as to the freedom of movement and transference for both individuals and property.

(4) The Federal Central authority and function of the government aim at the protection of the unity of the territory and its sovereignty, with consideration to the dual formation.

Meeting continued in Vienna from 31/3 to 7/4/1977. However, the two parties failed to narrow the gap between them because the Turks did not follow the four principles mentioned above and did not recognise a central, federal government in the Island.

After the Turkish invasion, Makarios returned to Cyprus on

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(11) G. Polyviou, Cyprus: Conflict and Negotiation 1960-1980, London: Duckworth, 1980.
Idem, Cyprus in Search of a Constitution; Constitutional Negotiations and Proposals 1960-1975, Nicosia, 1976.

7/12/1974 as an old man full of sorrow for cutting off the best part of his country and for the waste of his efforts and those of all honest people in Cyprus. He exerted much effort so that Turkish Cypriots could remain in their houses and keep their properties in the Greek southern zone. But his efforts were aborted in front of the insistence of most of the Turkish Cypriots or all of them to move to the Turkish zone, urged by the Turkish government. However, Makarios was able to restore the Cypriot economy which had deteriorated because of the invasion. The international aids played a great role in that. Thus, the state was able to provide new houses and jobs for the Greek Cypriot refugees who had to emigrate from the Turkish zone, and were 200 thousand. Makarios did not stop practising his political struggle and his diplomatic efforts. On 31 of July 1975, he attended Helsinki's conference for European security, where he delivered a speech and signed its concluding document. He was still, however, the target of many conspirators, so he received letters threatening to murder him. Nonetheless, his will never failed. In August 1976, Makarios participated in the non-aligned conference in Sri Lanka and delivered a speech in which he accused Turkey of committing wartime atrocities in Cyprus. These were documented crimes in the report the European committee for human rights (263 pages), which was presented to the European council on 10/7/1976. Then in June 1977, Makarios participated in the Commonwealth conference. This was the last of his trips abroad. On 20 July 1977, Makarios delivered one of his most moving speeches for he asked his people never to give up to despair or violence, as it is essential to continue the struggle for liberty and regaining the rights taken by force. Only thirteen days later that was on 3/8/1977, he had a heart attack. Makarios bade farewell to our worldly life before the appearance of a beam of hope towards realising his national ambitions to which he devoted himself and his whole life. This end reminds us of the death of the leader Gamal Abd El-Nasser who died while the Israeli occupying soldiers were on the eastern side to the Suez Canal, though he devoted his whole life to liberate Egypt from imperialism.

In the round of talks between the two Cypriot sides, from 31/3 to

7/4/1977, the Turkish side repeated what Rauf Denktash had already proposed in the fifth round in Vienna, February 1976. In the end when they presented their long-promised proposals, they came to discuss (April 1978) cases of the land and the constitution, which were not good bases for negotiations because they put the initial condition of partition into two separate entities and the official recognition of the Turkish entity. In return, they did not offer any concessions in the land. In November 1978, the United States, Britain and Canada laid a "general framework" on which negotiations between the two sides would start. This framework defines the following broad lines:

- A dual federal state made of two zones.
- Each zone enjoys separate governmental institutions.

The Cypriot government expressed some strong reservations concerning this framework as it disagrees with the U.N. resolutions, particularly concerning the return of the Greek Cypriot refugees to their homes in the occupied part, and the withdrawal of foreign forces from the Island. This general frame mentions the return of some refugees and the continuing existence of foreign forces in the Island even after the final settlement. What the frame did was the reorganisation of the partition lines that could not remain as it is now. In other words, it confirms the idea and the principle of the "lines of partition" which contradicts the concepts of independence and sovereignty insisted upon by the Cypriot people.

The U.N. resumed its efforts to solve the stubborn problem of Cyprus and finally succeeded in its efforts to arrange a meeting between Makarios's successor, Spyros Kyprianou, and Rauf Denktash on 19 May 1979. The meeting of the two Cypriot leaders led to the agreement on the following ten points:

1) Resuming the inter-communal talks on 15th of June 1979.
2) The initial basis for these talks is the broad guidelines Makarios - Denktash reached on 12 February 1977 and the U.N. resolutions related to the Cyprus issue.

3) There should be respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for every Cypriot citizen.

4) Negotiations should deal with all problems concerning territory and the constitution.

5) Priority should be given to the agreement on the resettlement of Varosha to reach a comprehensive agreement under the auspices of the U.N.

6) Pledging not to undertake any action that can delay talks. Working towards building trust between the two sides and the restoration of life in normal conditions.

7) The demilitarisation of Cyprus in future is envisaged.

8) The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus should be adequately guaranteed agains union in whole or in part with any other country and against any form of partition or secession.

9) The inter-communal talks will be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay.

10) The inter-communal talks are to be held in Nicosia.

After the resumption of talks, however, differences started, as the Turkish Cypriots rejected article No. (5) concerning the priority of settling Varosha problem. They insisted on discussing the ten points together, and demanded the amendment of article (2) with matters that imply the existence of two states, each having its boundaries and sovereignty.

Then, the Turkish Cypriot side exploded another issue that delayed negotiations. The *Awqaf* sued the Turkish Cypriot government, or the Federal Turkish state of Cyprus (TFSC) to be exact (the name given to the Turkish entity of the Cypriot Island after the Turkish invasion). The *Awkaf* demanded the protection of its properties in Varosha and turning the place into a protectorate that would not be included in the negotiations between the two parties until

the court came into a decision in the case. They said about Varosha- an area round the court of Famagusta – that in the Ottoman age it belonged to three Pashas and it was bequeathed to the *Awqaf.* The commander of the Ottoman invasion, Lala Mustafa, had granted the three Pashas (Abdullah) a plot of land on 24/1/1570 in Varosha which lies between the districts of Staphros and Enkomi in Famagusta. These three Pashas were of Venetian origin, i.e. the ruling class in Cyprus before the Ottoman invasion. When they yielded to the conquering Ottomans and embraced Islam, they were given this land as a gift and a reward. They bore the following names: Mahmoud Abdullah, Youssuf Abdullah, and Mustafa Abdullah. Hence their lands were called *Aptoullas* in Greek(12).

5- Cyprus in the Last Two Decades of the Twentieth Century

In November 1979, negotiations ceased after four sessions only and the General Assembly of the United Nations issued a resolution demanding the immediate resumption of the negotiations based on the "ten points". The Turkish Cypriot side rejected the resolution and threatened to declare an independent state. On 6th of June 1980, the two sides decided to start negotiations, and in order to satisfy the

(12) Concerning the development of the crisis of Cyprus in the seventies, in addition to the above references, see:
[Greek] Clerides (Nicosia 1988-1991) Vol. II, pp. 87 ff. Et *passim.*
Ibid., vol. III *passim.*
Ibid., vol. IV *passim.* In the fourth volume, the author mentions the details of the negotiations between the two Cypriot sides until the death of Makarios in 1977. It is noteworthy saying that this 4 vols. valuable book contains 2053 pages and it represents the testimony of one who participated in the events of Cyprus in the second half of the twentieth century.
[Greek] Ploutis (Athens 1991)
K. Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*, New Haven-London: Yale Univ. Press, 1977.
C.G. Tornarities, *Cyprus and its Constitutional and Other Legal Problems*, Nicosia, 1980.
P.N. Vanezis, *Cyprus: the Unfinished Agony*, London: Abelard Schuman, 1977.

Turkish Cypriot side, the report of the Secretary General of the United Nations stated the concept of the duality of the zones and its security. Rauf Denktash withdrew from the first session on 7 June. With great efforts from the U.N. another round of negotiations was held in Nicosia on 9 August 1980 on the basis of the agreement of February 1977 and May 1979. The announced aim of the negotiations was to work towards establishing "a bi-communal federal republic", leaving Varosha to be settled through the U.N. For the first time good intentions prevailed on both sides and the Greek side accepted the idea of "a federal republic with two zones", but without official boundaries. The central government should possess the power to ensure the unity of the state. However, the Turkish side insisted on official demarcation lines to separate between them, and insisted on a confederal state. They proposed to the Greek side to give up a small part of Varosha, while remaining under their administration. They rejected all measures proposed by the Cypriot government with the aim of establishing trust between the two parties.

On the 5th of August 1981, the Turkish Cypriots presented their new proposals summarised in the return of 2.6% of occupied territories, and the permission of only 31 thousand Greek Cypriot refugees to go back to their homes in the Turkish sector. Kurt Waldheim tried to bridge the gap between their points of view, but he failed because the Turkish side proceeded from the point of view of conceiving an independent and separate state. The matter became worse when Turkey threatened to invade the remaining part of Cyprus in 1982-1983 with the pretext that the "Armenian Liberation Organisations" fled from Beirut (after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon at that time) to Cyprus. So, the Greek Cypriots had to resort once again to the international community.

On 13 May 1983 and with an overwhelming majority, the strongest resolution of the General Assembly of the U.N. was issued for the interest of Cyprus (253/37). It was based on the form proposed by the block of non-alignment states.

The resolution demanded the immediate withdrawal of all the forces of the invasion, the mutual acceptance of a just solution based on independence, the unity of territory and sovereignty. In response to that fair stance of the international community towards the problem of Cyprus, the Turkish side took two serious steps; the first was issuing a "Turkish lira", the second was establishing a "central bank". On 17th of June 1983, the legislative council in the Turkish Cypriot entity, went to voting by undertaking a public referendum to declare independence from one side only, based on the assumption that the Turkish Cypriot people had the right to their self-determination and the running of their own affairs. On the 8th of August 1983, attempts started in the U.N. to overcome that decline. The international organisations issued a call for the two parties with the aim of narrowing the gap between them and resuming negotiation. Kyprianou positively responded to the call, but Denktash rejected the whole initiative.

On 15th November 1983 while preparing for the meeting of Kyprianou with the Secretary General of the U.N., Perez de Cuellar, the legislative council in the Turkish entity proclaimed "The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC) an independent state. Until now only one state in the world has recognised it, which is of course Turkey. It was Turkey that allowed the changes to happen in Cyprus, to assert partition and proclaim an independent state, which contradicted the U.N. resolutions and international agreements, including the safeguarding agreement among Britain, Greece and Turkey. The European parliament has refused to receive a delegation of the independent Turkish entity until now. On 18th November 1983, the Security Council adopted the resolution (No. 541) according to a proposed form by Britain that condemns this proclaimed Turkish state in Cyprus and considers it an illegitimate entity. It calls upon the world not to recognise an independent state in Cyprus, except the Cypriot Republic in Nicosia.

In the summit conference in New Delhi, on 29th November 1983, a resolution was issued considering this small Turkish state in Cyprus as "a challenge to the international community". A working team of

five states was formed to help the U.N. in resolving the Cypriot problem.

With directions from the U.N., Perez de Cuellar attempted to bring the two Cypriot parties together in September 1984, in New York. The first round of talks was held from 1-14 of September 1984, but it did not lead to any considerable breakthrough because the Turkish side insisted on establishing two equal states under the umbrella of a weak central government. In the second round 15-24 of October 1984 and the third from 26 November 1984 – 15 December 1984, the same Turkish attitudes were repeated. However, international pressures – particularly from Europe, the United States, and the non-aligned countries – helped to reach "a draft of a comprehensive agreement" or a comprehensive deal declaring a federal presidency with two zones and a central government of seven Greek ministers, three Turks and two others (most probably from Greece and Turkey). The Turkish sector was to be reduced from 38% to 29% or less than that. These lands would go to the Greek sector. Two parliaments are to be formed, and the Island would be gradually disarmed. It was agreed on signing this agreement in New York on 17th of January 1985, to be the basis of a new constitution. A summit meeting was held between the two parties in New York from 17-20 January 1985, but everything was fizzled out[13].

It is probably useful to mention here that most of the political analysts perceive in the Cypriot problem an illustration of the imperialist intrigue on the third world. The political analyst and journalist Muhammad Essa El-Sharqawy, says the following in that context:

> In this light we can explain one of the strong motives behind the *coup* arranged by the junta government in Greece to overthrow President Makarios in 1974, which led to the Turkish invasion of the Island without an action from

(13) [Greek] Hatzedemetriou, pp. 315-332.

Washington or Athens to stop it, as if it were an agreed-upon matter.

Here, it is obviously revealed that the Cypriot problem is not a race problem in the first place, but a model of foreign conspiracy against the independence of a state. The weapon of intrigue was to turn the two races in the same country against each other, applying the well-known imperialist motto "divide and rule".

Therefore, those who allude to the partition of the Island, they carry out an imperialist plot. It is not unknown that the new imperialist game now is the attempt to partition the countries of the third world with the aim of dividing them into small groups. Isn't it enough to refer to what happens in Chad and Lebanon to illustrate that? Finally, the way to resolve the Cypriot problem lies in the necessity that the world community would insist on the carrying out of the U.N. resolutions concerning Cyprus. The Turkish forces of invasion have to withdraw from the Island, and the necessary guarantees to ensure the rights of the Turkish Cypriot minority have to be provided in a constitutional framework. This will block the way on foreign conspiracy to partition Cyprus.

In an article entitled "Cyprus, the country Partitioned into Two" published in 1990, Alexander Krilov says:

> The eighties was characterized by a steady increase in the number of Turkish emigrants. In 1974, the number of Turkish Cypriots was about 120 thousand (the number of Greek Cypriots was 500 thousand). In the middle of the eighties about 50 thousand moved from Turkey to the north of Cyprus, according to European sources, and about 65 thousand, according the Cypriot government sources. That led to a great change in the demographic situation in the Island for the interest of the Turkish community. It became a cause of the

vast melting away of the cultural roots of the Turkish Cypriots compared with the inhabitants of Turkey. The elongated stay which led to the establishment of roots for the Turkish emigrants in the north of Cyprus, in addition to the economic and political integration between the republic of the north of Cyprus and Turkey have made the partition of the Island an inevitable matter in the near future.

The republic in the north of Cyprus does not enjoy at the moment any political or economic independence, though it possesses all the essentials of a state; namely, a government, a legislative council, an army, a constitution ...etc. since 1974, there has been a steady political, economic and cultural integration between the north part of the Island and Turkey under the motto of federal union, then separation. In fact, the independence of the Republic of Northern Cyprus, which they made a fuss about, is merely a myth, for any resolution taken by its government requires a previous approval on the part of Turkey.



Fig. No. (62)

CONCLUSION
A Word about the Future

Turkey is a fellow Islamic country. It is an preeminent state in the region and the descendant of the Ottoman Empire that dominated most of the Islamic states in Asia and Africa, but wasted them for the interest of European imperialism in the last two centuries. Some of the ruling dynasties in these states had Greek roots and many of the Egyptian and Arab families are still proud of their Turkish roots until now.

I felt this kinship when I visited Turkey in 1973, in April to be exact. I travelled to Turkey from Greece, where I was staying then, and I spent a fabulous holiday moving between Istanbul and Canakkale. In Istanbul, I visited the Museum of Topcapi, the gold market, the mosque or the Church of Ayasophia, and the Blue Mosque, near which an authentic Egyptian obelisk stands. Everywhere I went to, I found common features between the people and myself, though they were muttering a language I do not know or grasp. Let me remind you that Istanbul is the last appellation of this ancient city that was previously called Constantinople or "*Constantinopolis*" in Greek. It meant the city of Constantine, the name that was given to the city after becoming the Capital of the Christian Byzantine Empire. However, its older name was "Byzantium" which fell into the hands of Mohamed II the Conqueror about 1453 and Turkey became an Islamic State thence. I am mentioning that in passing merely to remind the dear readers of the nature of this charming city of Istanbul.

As to Chanakale, I went there with the aim of visiting the nearby Hisarlake village, which was the ancient Troy mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad*. I was extremely happy, standing among the ruins of ancient Troy, the home city of King Priam and his son Hector who defended the city, and his second son Paris, the lover of the Greek Helen who was the cause of all the Trojan troubles. My ecstasy reached the extent that I imagined Helen standing next to me and we were talking together in Greek, French and all the languages of the world. However, in Canakkale I talked to the owner of a tourist store in Arabic. As soon as I saluted him with "*as-salamu 'laikum*", he rose to

his feet and was about to give me everything he possessed gratis.

This is Turkey, the people and the land. As to Turkish politics, it is very odd and cannot be fully comprehended. I was raised and grew up; I was graduated from school and university with a conviction deep in me that Turkey is the cause of our backwardness and inability to follow the procession of modern European renaissance. We learned in history books that Turkey imposed on the region a heavy curtain of darkness since the middle of the fifteenth century, which was the date the sparkle of European civilization was enkindled in Italy, France and the rest of the western part of the European continent. With few exceptions, this curtain had been forced on us until the beginning of the twentieth century,. Turkey became the sick man who was expected to die, from whose hands one precious stone or another was taken. Our Arab countries were these precious stones that fell into the hands of England, France and others. Part of our suffering now is the reaping of that long, dim Turkish night that extended for four centuries.

This is the idea imprinted in my mind. The Egyptian films and plays have a great role in enhancing the idea. The image of the illiterate Turkish Agha, Gulfidan, Tabuzada, the Pasha and the royal ruling family ... etc., you still watch on the silver screen until our very day. Through my modest readings of history, I observed that Turkey is actually swaying between Asia and Europe; fluctuating between the Arab world and its enemies; and between its being an Islamic state and a secular country. Since Mustafa Kemal Ataturke and Turkey has been attempting to come closer to Europe by all means that it changed the Arabic letters into Latin. However, all that has not turned Turkey into a European state. Turkey has been dancing on the European stairs for a long time, the West played the music, but did not admit her into the wedding hall in the European marriage!

In the historical studies in the Arab world, you find those who reiterate the same idea imprinted in my mind. You also find those who defend the Ottoman State that has been unjustly treated.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Turkey has hardly had any importance in the European agenda. Turkey grasped that, so it turned to the Middle East looking for a role to play. Pressures on Iraq and

Syria began because of the water of the Euphrates. There were insinuations to Israel of supplying it with flowing water. If the Egyptian attitude was graceful during the second gulf war for standing against Iraqi aggression on Kuwait, the Turkish attitude Was not graceful at all. I was personally pessimistic of the tour the Turkish President, Ozal, undertook in the region at that time. He was looking for a chance to take, that was all. The truest expression about Turkey was said by Colonel Qaddaffi. He said that Turkey was a divorced woman, looking for a new marriage in the Middle East. He meant that Europe had divorced Turkey.

It was Turkey that encouraged the Kurds in the north of Iraq to revolt against the central government in Baghdad, before and after the coming of Saddam. I remember in one of my talks with a foreign statesman in the eighties that I told him Turkey would pay a dear price for its reckless policy because the Turkish Kurds would make use of that. A few years later, what I had expected actually happened. Still Turkey is led away from one blunder into another, as the Turks attempt to solve their problem at the expense of the unity of the Iraqi tradition. Their absurdity reached the extent of claiming the city of Mosul in Iraq.

The West will be overjoyed for that erratic behaviour of Turkey[1] because this Kurdish pit in the north of Iraq will preoccupy Turkey and keep it away from the Balkans, particularly Bosnia. There will be at least a chance for profitable deals for the other party. However, the Arabs who stood against Saddam Hussein for his foolish invasion of Kuwait are requested to stand against Turkey in its provocative invasion to the north of Iraq. So, out of our fraternal relationship with the Turks, and our appreciation of the historical ties between us, regardless of some remaining blemishes, we say to Turkey, the divorced woman, search for another groom and leave the north of

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(1) There are some recent journalistic writings that analyse that erratic Turkish conduct swaying between religion and secularism on the one hand, and the East and West on the other. As an illustration, see [Arabic] that article of Mohammed Salmawy – the secular – entitled "The Extremists and Ataturk's Monkey's", *Al-Ahram* dated *24/2/1997, p. 19.* Compare with Fahmy Huwaidy – the Islamist – *Ah-Ahram* dated 11/3/1997, p. 3.

Iraq alone.

On the other hand, we have very close and friendly relations with the Greek people that go back to thousands of years.

Greek men of letters, philosophers and poets have been visiting Egypt since ancient times. They go back home singing hymns of praise for Egypt's deep-rooted civilization. Their writings and poems have become some of the primary sources for any researcher in Egyptology. For instance, we cannot study Egypt, historically and culturally, without the writings of Homer, Herodotus, Aeschylus, Euripides, Plato, Plutarch, Strabo ... and others. Alexandria became then the symbol of sacred marriage between Egypt and Greece. It is a civilized marriage based on peace, and according to the authentic Egyptian-Greek concept, peace means fraternity among the peoples of the world. It is the peace of mutual respect based on friendship, love, and exchange of benefits. Therefore, you find Greek temples and Greek papyri everywhere in Egypt. In counter-point, you find the temples of Isis, Osiris and Syrapis widespread in Greece. You can also see the ancient Egyptian statues in all Greek museums.

In the twentieth century, all Greek poets and men of letters sang of the beauty of Egypt, its civilization and the kindness of its people. One of the first of these writers is Nikos Kazantzakis (1885 – 1957) who was proud of having Arab blood in him. Constantine Cavafy (1863 – 1933), the loyal son of Alexandria, is another. On his first visit to Cairo, Kazantzakis sent a letter from there dated the first of February 1927 saying: "My soul is filled again with the East ... this city is amazing." In another letter written the following day, he says: "The treasures of the museum cannot be described. The tomb of Tutankh Amun is all of gold.... All these decorations and gems, the vessels and golden tools, that strange confusing glistening, all are aweinspiring." In a letter from Luxor dated 7th February 1927, Kazantzakis says: "The Nile softly flows, so it waters and fertilizes what it reaches. All that is not watered by the Nile remains barren and infertile forever. Likewise is the intellect."

Listen to Cavafy, the poet of Alexandria, addressing Odysseus, the hero of Homer's *Odyssey*, saying in his masterpiece *Ithaca*, the

hometown of the hero who seeks a return after twenty years of absence:

Νὰ εὔχεσαι νἄναι μακρὺς ὁ δρόμος.
Πολλὰ τὰ καλοκαιρινὰ πρωϊὰ νὰ εἶναι
ποὺ μὲ τί εὐχαρίστηση, μὲ τί χαρὰ
θὰ μπαίνεις σὲ λιμένας πρωτοειδωμένους·
νὰ σταματήσεις σ' ἐμπορεῖα Φοινικικά,
καὶ τὲς καλὲς πραγμάτειες ν' ἀποκτήσεις,
σεντέφια καὶ κοράλλια, κεχριμπάρια κ' ἔβενους,
καὶ ἡδονικὰ μυρωδικὰ κάθε λογῆς,
ὅσο μπορεῖς πιὸ ἄφθονα ἡδονικὰ μυρωδικά·
σὲ πόλεις Αἰγυπτιακὲς πολλὲς νὰ πᾶς,
νὰ μάθεις καὶ νὰ μάθεις ἀπ' τοὺς σπουδασμένους.

You must pray that the way be long.
At Phoenician trading stations you must stop
And must acquire good merchandize,
Mother of pearl and coral, amber and ebony,
And sensuous perfumes of every kind;
As much as you can get of sensuous perfumes;
You must go to many cities of Egypt,
To learn and still to learn from those who know.

Moreover, both the Greek and the Egyptian sides denounced the suspect regional alliances. Therefore, the ordinary citizen in Greece and Egypt as well as other countries associated between three matters that occurred consecutively in 1996. These are the military Israeli-Turkish alliance; the unjust Israeli aggression on Lebanon, i.e. "the bunches of wrath;" and the terrorist act against Greek tourists in Egypt. The ordinary citizen established a causal association based on the law of necessity and the most probable among the three acts. Each has led to the other in a direct or an indirect way, or each has contributed in setting the climate for the other.

We have already expressed our view that agrees with the expression of Muammar Qaddaffi which says that in the last two decades, Turkey looks like a divorced woman searching for a new alliance of marriage at any price. The European Union divorced her after the downfall of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war. She looked for a "groom" during the second Gulf War and found "him" in the north of Iraq and encouraged the Kurds to be separated, but

highly paid the price for the Kurds of the Turkish Labour Party. The scandal was widespread.

We do not wonder when Israel hits Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and other countries because it is the essential nature of Israel and we have got used to it. What surprised us was that Israel was involved in the game of peace, but—as revealed later—it was playing the role of a comedian. Then, it seems that Israel was fed up with the comic role and returned to its essential role, that is aggression. As for Turkey, the member in the Organization of the Islamic States and the neighboring country to the Arab world, it unexpectedly kept on spoiling its relationship with the Arabs in the last decades. Turkey puts pressure on Iraq and Syria with the question of the fresh water in the Euphrates. It built dams to control the supply of the water and prevent it at its own convenience. It desires to cultivate the Israeli-Naqb desert with Turkish water so as the Israeli nuclear reactor would not stay by itself in the barren desert.

As to the last military agreement between Turkey and Israel, it allows Israeli aircraft to use Turkish airspace. The two parties chose the worst time to sign such an agreement. The Syrian-Lebanese peace process with Israel is highly obstructed, and this military co-operation between Turkey and Israel represents an element of pressure on Syria in negotiations. This alliance is like a whip on the back of Syria (Iraq and Lebanon also). We have the right to ask about the return Turkey is gaining from Israel. Here the political analysis stating that Israel hit the bases of the Kurdish Turkish Labour Party in Lebanon is revealed, and the raiding Israeli aircraft can spy, take pictures, and send information to Turkey. What is important is that the latter has opened the way to military cooperation with Israel, the worst enemy in war and peace for the whole Arab world.

Through that, Turkey aims at establishing a position in the camp of the USA and the NATO, the thing which will never be attained after being eternally divorced from the West, particularly after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974.

The entire Arab world is now required to take a firm stance with Turkey who has blocked the road towards peace and constantly

threatens our fellow brothers in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. The words of protest alone are not sufficient and we have to treat Turkey in like manner, as the Turkish interests in the Arab world are countless. In spite of that, we have high considerations for the feelings of the brotherly Turkish people who demonstrated in front of the Israeli consulate in protest against the savage attack of the peaceful Lebanese people in the raids of "bunches of wrath."

About two years back I wrote asking for mending our cultural relations with Greece and did not expect that wide and deep impact of what was written. For instance, on the level of the Greek governments and its friendly people, their reaction was highly civilized and had a great sense of responsibility. We asked to broaden the circle of the cultural relations with Greece and to concentrate on the Egyptian universities that started a department for Greek studies. In fact, what we wrote had been already put in the Greek press and the different mass media there, and was repeated in a number of conferences attended by university professors as well as people of resposibility from the Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Education and Culture. We asked for two main requests: first to increase the number of scholarships granted to Egyptian students in that specialisation. I exactly said: "There is only one Egyptian in Greece who has this grant, whereas during the time I was there, we were about ten."

The second request was to pay more attention to Arabic and Egyptian studies in Greek universities. The Greek answer showed great awareness of history and great nobility as well. Suffice it to say that the number of annual grants given now to Egyptian students from Greece in the last year is about twenty-five.

As to the Arabic and Egyptian studies in Greece, there is hardly any progress, to the best of my knowledge. A great deal of the responsibility in that context is ours, that is the Arab and Egyptian side. We have to start now, and it is our right to put the condition of learning Arabic as a must for any foreigner to get the grant. However, we have to open the doors, specially for the Greeks and Cypriots.

We do not have to build bridges of friendship and love with Greece because they have already been there since ancient times until

now. What is really required is to make use of these bridges and build on them instead of leaving them to be eroded. The first step towards that is to enhance historical awareness of the depth of relations for the two parties. This is because man tends to forget and his memory is flooded with data and inter-relations. However, history alone cannot establish political relations between states unless supported by economics and the principle of exchanging tangible benefits based on "give and take".

The observer of the map of Europe will notice three land stretches, i.e. peninsulas extending from north to south about to touch Arab territories. From the east they are Greece, Italy and Spain, respectively. These land projections stretching towards us represent in fact cultural and commercial bridges between Europe and us. The peoples of such territories feel close to us and reveal their sympathy, but not in the same degree. I am sorry to say that Greece is the least of them in being attached to us in spite of its geographic closeness. Why?

There are clear and understood reasons. One of them is that the unjust Turkish occupation of Greece for four centuries has succeeded in tarnishing the image of Islam and mixing it up with Arabism. This tarnished image is now deeply rooted in the Greek mentality and has left traces that can be hard to remove. Therefore, Greece has always been turning to the "rescuing" West till now. We have learned, however that matters have started to improve though in a slow motion which does not agree with the tempo of the age and the world variables.

If Europe and the West are turning towards the East now, looking for markets and economic interests, some of which have no balance in the historical and cultural relations with Egypt and the Arab world, is it then reasonable for Greece not to follow that procession?

The Greeks were the first Europeans to turn towards the East in pre-historic ages. It was the Greeks who came to Egypt, drank of the water of the river Nile and of Egypt's knowledge. The oldest Greek civilization is a witness to that. It is the Minoan civilization in Crete, which flourished, in the second millennium BC. Then in the sixth

century BC they set a colony in Egypt called "Nocrates", close to Etayy El-Barud and is now called Kom Gu'aifa. A successive number of scholars came to Egypt to study and when they returned to Greece they became famous writers, poets, philosophers, and historians, as Solon, Phythagoras, Plato, Herodotus, Plutarch and others in a long list of famous names.

When Alexander the Great came to Egypt and visited Siwa oasis and was called by the priests of the temple of Amon "son of god", he established the city of Alexandria. He set about conquering the cities of the world under this title "son of god", acquired in Egypt. Then Egypt became a Greek (Ptolemaic) country. Thus the two cultures were completely blended, which is manifest in the library of Alexandria and its culture.

However, this cultural blending has countless illustrations. For instance, you find the Egyptian impact in Greece; likewise, you find in Egypt the papyrus Greek texts, the Greek temples and the Greek statues. It all simply means that Greece cannot do without Egypt, its culture and language; likewise, Egypt cannot do without Greece, its culture and language, as each of them sheds light on the other.

It is obvious that any Egyptian-Greek rapprochement has to start through culture and civilization, as already mentioned, that is through enhancing Greek studies in Egypt to serve national Egyptian and Arab heritage as well as to contribute to the enhancement of historical awareness. In the meantime, we should not cease reminding the Greeks that they will not fully understand their country's heritage without the ancient Egyptian language and the Arab language. In our address we should persist on the necessity of establishing academic departments in their universities based on these two missing specializations. We do not accept that Greece would be behind other European countries in this field. We do not deny the presence of encouraging initiatives towards orientalism in Greece, but they do not well develop. In addition, we believe that the Egyptian and Arab side is required to pay the most possible attention to that tendency. We hope to witness very soon in Greece a renaissance for Egyptian and Arab studies that equals and accompanies the exerted efforts in Egypt concerning developing the Greek studies founded by Taha Hussein in

the Egyptian university since its foundation at the turn of the twentieth century.

To be more factual, we have to incline more towards open pragmatism and ask, "What can Greece offer Egypt and the Arab world?" Some people think that Greece with its nearly ten million citizens and its economics based on European aids cannot offer us anything of importance. Greece does not possess but the ruins of ancient civilization which is of no use to us, they believe. This is a myopic vision and needs to be corrected because, briefly speaking, Greece is the cultural entrance and the Asian gate to Europe. The Europeans now learn Greek language in preparatory and secondary schools and consider Homer, Sophocles and Aristotle as their forefathers. Therefore, Greek culture is considered an important entrance .to Europe's mind and heart. In this context, I remember that Tawfiq Al-Hakim in his autobiographical work, A Bird from the East (Asfour min El-Sharq), mentions that he was able to penetrate into the heart of his French sweetheart, Suzi, through a poem of a lyric Greek poet (Anakreon). He read it to her in French and she understood that he loved her. The poem is translated by Hakim in the above-mentioned book, under the title of the battle, which refers to the battle of love, lost by whoever resists love. Studying the matter, it was found that the original title of the poem is "To the God o Love" (Eis Erota).

Greece, then, can be one of the openings towards the heart of European union and through our friendship the scales of power in east the Mediterranean can be balanced. Added to that, there is the great expectation of our co-operation in the field of tourism that will serve the two countries, as we know that tourism and culture are ever interlined. As to commercial exchange, it has to reap all the fruit. The geographic closeness, as well as the cultural and political rapprochement are tributaries that pour in this stream that should be widened as much as possible.

Out of the principle of exchange, that is exchanging benefits, we also ask, "What can Egypt offer to Greece?" In addition to what everybody knows and repeats that Egypt is the gate to the Arab world and to a large portion of Africa, we can say that Egypt is a great power in the eastern Mediterranean region and contributes in the efforts

exerted to solve the problems therein. The best example here is the peace issue. Greece is a country that shares us the existence in the region, and has complicated problems with Turkey. One of the most important problems that disturbs the region, specially Greece, is the problem of Cyprus. Egypt can play a prominent role in solving this issue, as its relations with the two parties are historical and deep. We believe that Egypt's role in this problem is essential, and we recall the special relations between Nasser and Makarios. Such relations were not based on a vacuum. Then, Egypt has a firm stance in this problem based on supporting the union of Cypriot territories and their independence.

Enhancing historical awareness of the depth of relations between the two countries can support the principle of exchanging benefits that can create an additional power to each country to solve its problems. It can also help in reaping the fruit of cultural and commercial exchange, or in a comprehensive development to the peoples of the region.

In August 1996, there was a procession of Cypriot motorcycles driven by Greek Cypriots who trespassed the partitioning wires between the two zones of the Island to awaken the world so that the complex human and political problem would not be forgotten. Amidst the successive events of the Middle East, both the heated ones and the cold, that seek peace or knock the trumpet of war, Cyprus was forgotten. A closely connected problem with the Middle East, like Cyprus's, ought not to be forgotten. If one contemplates the case of the procession of the Cypriot motorcycles, he will notice that it is closely tied with Israel and Turkey. He will also connect it with the Turkish instabilities in foreign policy, particularly the policy of Erbakan who confused the American politicians. As to Greece, it turned to Iran to mediate in the contention between her and Turkey. In this way, the cards of the game are redistributed among players. What is then the role of the card of Cyprus in this game?

To simplify the answer on this question, let us mention that the Cypriot problem is very old, its roots extend in history to many centuries. The formation of the island itself and its geographical situation and its boundaries have made it a region of contention and struggle since ancient times. However, it is a meeting place for the

civilization of the East and the West and for the known heavenly religions. It is adherent to the Asian coast, close to Lebanon, Syria and Turkey on the geographical, material, cultural and spiritual levels. At the same time, the Island is a living part of the ancient Greek civilization. Therefore, it historically and traditionally belongs to Europe. Time may come when we can talk in more details about the deeply rooted historical relations between Egypt and Cyprus that extend till our very day. It is then a small island in contention with three continents; Asia, Europe and Africa. Throughout the successive stages of history, the people of the Island greatly suffered and paid a dear price. No decade has passed in the history of this Island without distresses whether from the east or west, or from the north or south.

After a bitter struggle the matter ended with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus under the leadership of Makarios and the presence of two communities; the first has the Greek majority of 83%, and the second is the Turkish minority that does not reach one fifth of the inhabitants. This situation could have been maintained to lead the Island to a state of peace and security. However, external forces caused internal disturbances, and the situation turned from worse to the worst. It eventually ended with a real catastrophe, which is the Turkish invasion to the Island in July 1974. What disturbs the Greek Cypriots more is that the direct and announced cause of the catastrophe is their Greek brethren; for the autocratic junta government reigns in Athens and hatches conspiracies. One of them was against Makarios in order to get rid of him and to declare the union of Cyprus with Greece. This matter had been stopped by former international agreements and the slogan "No union with Greece and no partition of the Island".

What is important now is that the Turkish invasion that took place about a quarter of a century ago created a state of complexity in the Cypriot problem. The reason is the external intervention because the Greek and Turkish inhabitants could have lived in harmony and peace together. In former historical periods they were able to swim together to safety, but now it is impossible to realise that. Blood was shed in the two sides of the partitioning demarcating lines and hundred thousands of Greek Cypriots became homeless as they lost their property, and their dreams of a secure future. They lost them in

the northern part of Cyprus, the part occupied by Turkey. They were turned into emigrant refugees.

What makes matters more complicated in the Cypriot problem is that it is quite entangled in other circles and very perplexing, which makes co-ordination and conciliation almost impossible. If we take one of the closest circles to the problem, I mean the circle of Greek and Turkish relations, we will discover that Cyprus does not represent but one card, the most important perhaps, among many other cards, cases and contentions that nearly extend to four centuries back when Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire. There is the "Turkish complex" in the conscience of the Greek people and they cannot easily get rid of it. They had suffered bitterly under the Turkish occupation that extended from the fifteenth century to the twentieth or the nineteenth, that is up to the Greek Revolution of 1821, and still consider Turkey the cause of their backwardness compared to Europe. The Western European renaissance occurred during these centuries, but Greece was behind because of the Turkish occupation. There was also the tragedy of Asia Minor and other tragedies that affected Greece and they come to the surface whenever there was a difference about sovereignty over a small and deserted island here or there in the Aegean Sea.

There is no hope then in resolving the Cypriot problem through the Greek Turkish circle alone. The second important circle is the European one. Cyprus itself is considered part of Europe, or it is destined to be so and to join the European Union (EU). There is an inclination towards taking fast steps towards that direction even before reaching a solution to the problem, on the basis that this same step could be an essential factor in the solution[2]. We refer in that context to the fact that Greece is the obstacle in Turkey's way towards Customs Union with the EU. Greece puts the condition of solving the Cypriot problem and withdrawing the Turkish forces from the Island first. However the European Union agreed in Helsinki (12/12/99) to upgrade Turkey to a candidate country, giving assurances to Greece over Cyprus and the Aegean and adopting the position that a solution to the Cyprus problem is not a precondition for the island's accession.

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(2) See: *Cyprus and the European Community*, Nicosia: Euroconsult, 1991, *passim*.

In fact, one feels there is a general European sympathy with the Cypriot government and people. There are many reasons for that. One of them is that the European conscience is aware that Cyprus was a victim of European, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon imperialism (particularly the European Lusignan dynasty, Venice and England), which ruined the Island and subjected it to fall in the hands of the Ottoman State, the Eastern Muslim power. The follower of the Cypriot history can notice that the suffering of the Orthodox Cypriots under the Latin Catholic reign was limitless and even exceeded their suffering at other historical periods. It was this affliction that weakened Cyprus both politically and economically. It also created partition in the community between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority, the thing that still afflicts the Island until now. Their distress reached its utmost with the Turkish invasion that destroyed any hope in a just humane solution.

As to the Middle Eastern circle in which the Cypriot problem is blended, it might be forgotten or hidden and it needs some clarification. Since there is no room for details here, we will merely refer to the fact that the Cypriot problem accompanied the Arab Israeli contention and interacted towards it both positively and negatively, rising and falling. Accurate investigation in the special relation that brought together Makarios, Nasser and Arafat might lead us to amazing details in that context. In addition the activities of the MOSAD, the CIA and the British intelligence in Cyprus are a good proof of the close ties between the problems of the Middle East and Cyprus. On many occasions foreign forces invade Egypt or other Arab countries through Cyprus. That happened during the Crusades, and the last example was during the tripartite aggression in 1956 when British, French and Israeli aircraft set off from the bases in Cyprus.

Moreover, Cyprus is used as a base for spying on the Middle East countries. From there, the Western espionage aircraft set off in 1970 to depict the wall of Sam rockets, built by Egypt in the war of attrition that led to the victory of October 1973. Therefore, it is certain that Cyprus's card is part of the game of the Middle East in war and peace.

As to America, it is the circle that comprises all others

mentioned above, controls them and sometimes settles its account with all the powers in the Middle East and east of the Mediterranean in Cyprus. It is strange that it was America that came ahead of other countries in condemning the killing of one of the cycles' participants when he attempted to lower the Turkish flag. We wished this stance would come out of real feeling of the necessity to resolve the matter and show justice to the persecuted. But in fact, America was reacting to the Middle East Erbakan phenomenon. In fact, all parties involved in the Cypriot problem do the same thing. America was settling its account at the expense of the unity of Cyprus, the safety of its territories and the harmony between its two communities. That was the case of Lebanon until recently, for the problems of Cyprus are frequently associated in my mind with the tragedies of Lebanon and Palestine.

At the beginning of 1997, an emergence of a new crisis was anticipated when the Cypriot government decided to deploy land-air rockets to defend itself. All the declarations issued from Ankara, Athens, Washington and Moscow remind us of the rules of the traditional game common in the region for ages. Finally the rockets were established in Crete instead of Cyprus. At the beginning of July of the same year, negotiations started between the leaders of the two Cypriot communities in New York under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. They did not produce anything of significance except agreeing on the resumption of talks in Geneva in August 1997. Nothing important took place until the beginnings of 2002.

There was a tendency in international politics that Cyprus should wait for awhile before catching the peace train that set off from the Middle East. When the procession of motorcycles and the crisis of the rockets happened, they seemed to urge Cyprus to catch that train as soon as possible, otherwise it has to wait for many centuries for an opportunity. The fear is that the Island can remain in a state of expectation and waiting for an illusion of a train that will never pass by this station because something went wrong at the starting point.

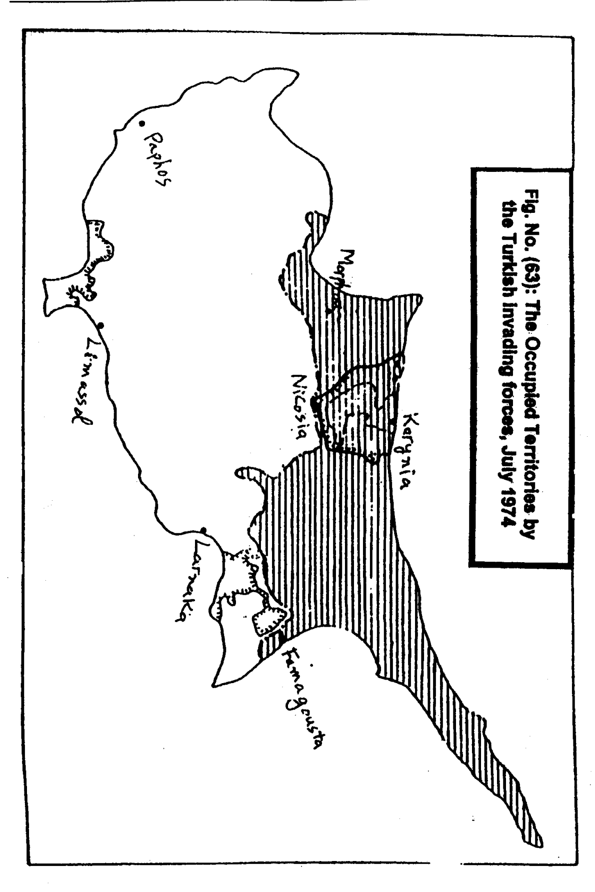


Fig. No. (63): The Occupied Territories by the Turkish invading forces, July 1974

List of Abbreviations

AJA	American Journal of Archeology
AKEL	Progressive Party of the Working People
[Arabic]	References in Arabic, translated in the footnotes into English, but written in the original, i.e. Arabic, in the Select Bibliography.
ARDAC	Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus
CGF	*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
EAS	National Federation for Liberation
EMAK	National Front for the Liberation of Cyprus
EOKA-(A)	National Organisation of Cypriot Struggle (*Ethniki Organosis Kipriakou Agonos*)
EOKA-(B)	The above organisation in its second stage from 1971
EREK	Radical National Union of Cyprus
ESC	Early Society in Cyprus
ESEA	National Disciplinary Committee of the Struggle for *Enosis*
[GREEK]	References in Modern Greek, written in the footnotes in Latin letters but in the Select Bibliography in its original i.e. Modern Greek.
IEE	Ιστορια Ελληνικου Εθνους
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JOAS	Journal of Oriental and African Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
KATAK	The Union of the Turkish Cypriot Organisation
KTHP	The Cypriot Turkish People's Party (*Kibris Turk Halk Partisi*)
ΠΑΑ	Πρακτικα της Ακαδημιας Αθηνων
PEK	The General Cypriot Union for the Agrarians
PEM	The Union Cypriot Front
PEO (PSO)	Union for Workers in Cyprus
PESP	The Greek Cypriot Socialist Progressive Party
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus
SCE	Swedish Cyprus Expedition
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archeology



Fig. No. (64)

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